

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 395 493

FL 023 825

AUTHOR Attla, Catherine; Jones, Eliza; Thompson, Chad
 TITLE K'etetaalkkaanee: The One Who Paddled among the People and Animals. The Story of an Ancient Traveler Told by
 INSTITUTION Alaska Univ., Fairbanks. Alaska Native Language Center.
 REPORT NO ISBN-1-55500-038-X; ISBN-1-55500-039-8
 PUB DATE 90
 NOTE 342p.; "Stories told by Catherine Attla. Transcribed and translated by Eliza Jones. Analytical companion volume by Chad Thompson."
 AVAILABLE FROM Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska Fairbanks, P.O. Box 900111, Fairbanks, AK 99775-0120.
 PUB TYPE Viewpoints (Opinion/Position Papers, Essays, etc.) (120) -- Creative Works (Literature, Drama, Fine Arts) (030) -- Multilingual/Bilingual Materials (171)
 LANGUAGE English; Koyukon
 EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
 DESCRIPTORS *Alaska Natives; *American Indian Culture; *Athapascan Languages; Folk Culture; *Legends; Tales; Uncommonly Taught Languages
 IDENTIFIERS Alaska; Koyukon

ABSTRACT

The classic Koyukon tale "K'etetaalkkaanee" recounts the epic journey of a traveler, strong in spirit power, who traverses the North. As he follows the destined path, he effects the transformation of animals, establishes customs, defines features of the physical world, and illustrates practical wisdom. The tale is recounted in Koyukon, an Athabaskan language of Alaska, by storyteller Catherine Attla, and presented with paragraph-by-paragraph translation in English. A foreword and an introduction provide background information on the tale, its cultural context, the storyteller, and characteristics of the storytelling. Drawings illustrate the text. A companion volume by Chad Thompson contains an analysis of the tale. Introductory sections provide information about the Koyukon people, the storytelling tradition, translation of the title, the use of language in the stories, and culturally-based responses to Athabaskan stories. A detailed analysis follows of: the tale's episodes; the overall story, the asides made during its telling, and other Koyukon versions of the tale; characters, situations, and the role of time and place in Koyukon stories; and characteristics of other northern traveler stories. (Contains 108 references). (MSE)

 * Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
 * from the original document. *

K'etetaalkkaanee The One Who Paddled Among the People and Animals

The Story of an Ancient Traveler

ED 395 493



PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND
DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL
IN OTHER THAN PAPER COPY
HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Michael

Krauss

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

- ☒ This document has been reproduced as
received from the person or organization
originating it.
- ☐ Minor changes have been made to
improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this
document do not necessarily represent
official OERI position or policy.

Catherine Attla

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

FL023825

K'etetaalkkaanee
The One Who Paddled
Among the People and Animals

K'etetaalkkaanee
The One Who Paddled Among the People and Animals

The Story of an Ancient Traveler
told by Catherine Attla
transcribed and translated by Eliza Jones
illustrated by Cindy Davis

Yukon Koyukuk School District
and
Alaska Native Language Center
College of Liberal Arts
University of Alaska Fairbanks
1990

©1990 Yukon Koyukuk School District
Alaska Native Language Center

All rights reserved
Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Attla, Catherine.

K'etetaalkkaanee, the one who paddled among the people and animals: the story of an ancient traveler / told by Catherine Attla; transcribed and translated by Eliza Jones; illustrated by Cindy Davis.

p. cm.

English and Koyukon Athabaskan on facing columns
ISBN 1-55500-038-X

1. Koyukon Indians--Legends. 2. Koyukon language--Texts.
I. Jones, Eliza. II. Title. III. Title: The One who paddled among the people and animals.

E99.K79A875 1990

398.2089972-dc20

90-12731

CIP

First Printing 1990 1,300 copies
Prepared for printing by the Alaska Native Language Center

Address correspondence to:
Yukon Koyukuk School District
P.O. Box 309
Nenana, Alaska 99760

Alaska Native Language Center
University of Alaska Fairbanks
P.O. Box 900111
Fairbanks, Alaska 99775-0120

It is the policy of the University of Alaska to provide equal education and employment opportunities and to provide services and benefits to all students and employees without regard to race, color, religion, national origin, sex, age, disability, status as a Vietnam era or disabled veteran, marital status, changes in marital status, pregnancy, or parenthood, pursuant to laws enforced by the Department of Education and the Department of Labor, including Presidential Executive Order 11246, as amended, Title VI and Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, the Public Health Service Act of 1971, the Veteran's Readjustment Assistance Act of 1974, the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, the Equal Pay Act of 1963, the 14th Amendment, EEOC's Sex Discrimination Guidelines, and Alaska Statutes 18.80.010 et seq., and 14.18.010 et seq., and 36.30.010 et seq. Inquiries regarding application of these and other regulations should be directed either to the University of Alaska Fairbanks, Director of Employee Relations; the Office of Civil Rights, Department of Education, Washington, D.C.; or to the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Contents

Foreword	vi
Introduction	viii
Acknowledgments	xiii
The Episodes	
Saanlaaghedoh: Fish Camp	1
Zuhge: Camp Robber	5
Gguh: Rabbit	11
K'ets'eghultoon Denaa Yoo: The Chickadee People	15
Tsonggude, El Ehone, Delbegge:	
Willow Grouse, Spruce Grouse, and Ptarmigan	19
Tenh Noo K'etelkkuyenh:	
The One Who Spears Through the Ice	23
Belaazone: Otter	27
Tseyaa Nugh Neso: Grandpa, I Have Come to You	33
Negoodzeghe: Horned Owl	37
Sooge: Marten	41
Neltseet: Wolverine	49
Behookkaay Denaa: Shovel Man	55
K'etleedzode: Hawk Owl	59
Delo' Ghu Noledoyee:	
The One Married to His Own Hand	67
Neelkk'aa Oyht'aan:	
The One with Snowshoes Bent up on Both Ends	71
Ts'eyee Gheeyo Denh: Where He Spent the Spring	75
Geltl: Fishhook	89
Begho Kk'usk'eghedeeghu'ro' Soo' Gho Kk'usk'eghedee'onh:	
How Unlikely to be Hanging By the Neck From That	95
Taahgoodze Tl'en Ghu K'enaaneelt'l'el Denh:	
When He Shot an Arrow Into Mink's Leg	103
Dotson' Deghuskk'oze Etlyel Denh:	
When He Grabbed Raven's Beak	111
Boogh Tleelt'l'en Bugh Neeghodenaaneeyo Denh:	
Where His Older Brother's Skull Came Ashore to Him	119
Solt'aanh Betl'ots'eyegheeltaanh Ghenee Nesoogheetleyh:	
He Made a Grave for the Girl Who Had Been Given to Him	127
Boogh Tson' Gheneede Ghu Neekkaanh Denh:	
When He Came to His Enslaved Older Brother	133
K'oyeedenaa Yoo: Little People	139
Yelkuh Solt'aanh: Giant Woman	147

Foreword

Students of the oral literatures of the world are extremely fortunate to have presented here a rich version of the classic Koyukon tale, *K'etetaalkkaanee*. Perhaps the longest of the Koyukon traditional narratives (*kk'edonts'ednee*), it recounts the epic journey of a traveler, strong in spirit power, who traverses the North. As *K'etetaalkkaanee* follows his destined path, he effects the transformation of animals, establishes customs, defines features of the physical world, and illustrates practical wisdom. Many of the Northern native peoples have stories of an ancient traveler who, on his journey, meets amazing beings and helps transform the world. Though *K'etetaalkkaanee* often acts like culture heroes, monster slayers, transformers and tricksters in other Native American oral traditions, he always transcends such categories. He may trick a creature or transform beings into animals, slay a cannibal or teach a lesson in cultural values, but these are by-products of the mysterious spiritual quest at the heart of his story. This quest leads him from home in search of the medicine power of which he has dreamed.

Through these episodes, the audience is guided through Story Time long ago, when people and animals could talk to each other. More importantly though, the audience is constantly reminded that the search for spirit power and its exercise change the world now as they did long ago. The world *K'etetaalkkaanee* influenced can be seen today and is still in dynamic equilibrium.

The movement of most traditional Native American narratives is from a world of all possibility to one with fixed and clearly defined natures and forms. As the stories develop, human and animal cultural values are formed, social customs are established, and species personalities are defined. In *K'etetaalkkaanee* the world takes form before the eyes of our imagination.

K'etetaalkkaanee has a special relationship with the animals of interior Alaska. He visits their homes and, during his sleep, they are transformed. He hunts them but also acts as their prey. He describes and

defines characteristics that we can still see in animals today, and at the end of the story he even becomes one. Throughout, we are reminded of how similar the animal and human realms really are, and how deserving of understanding and respect both are.

The story of K'etetaalkkaance functions on many levels at once. Most immediately, audiences will respond to a dramatic character who journeys from one surprising and suspenseful episode to the next. However, Attla is quick to point out the cultural values also expressed in these episodes. Moreover, while the story delineates many tenets of cultural wisdom, it also delineates social mores and the practical wisdom of survival in the North. Also at the foundation of these cultural functions is the sense that this story and other *kk'edonts'ednee* are prayers for short winters and good lives, that those who tell the old stories, who know them and live with them, will be blessed with long, lucky lives. Remembering these things might help the reader who is uncertain of the sense of action and motivation in the story to gain some perspective. In the face of a story that has satisfied generations of listeners and found a central place in a rich body of oral literature, the only thing "primitive" is our criticism and understanding.

Catherine Attla is a consummate storyteller, ideally suited to present Koyukon stories in a rich, evocative context. Her knowledge of *kk'edonts'ednee* is extensive and detailed. Her storytelling keeps her audiences, both Koyukon and non-Koyukon, firmly in mind as she skillfully weaves narratives that satisfy both while retaining the precise perceptions of the old storytelling language and techniques. Jones' hand in the transcription and translation is always sure and informative. She captures the rich texture of the original language and performance in her translations. In this volume as well as the two preceding ones, the superb collaboration of Attla and Jones allows Koyukon *kk'edonts'ednee* to take its place in the first ranks of world oral literatures.

James Ruppert
University of Alaska Fairbanks

Introduction

K'etetaalkkaanee, the epic tale of a traveler who paddled all summer and walked all winter, is Catherine Attla's third volume of stories in the Koyukon genre called *kk'edonts'ednee*. *K'etetaalkkaanee*, like the two previous volumes — *Sitsiy Yugh Noholnik Ts'in': As My Grandfather Told It* and *Bakk'aatugh Ts'uhuniy: Stories We Live By* — takes place in the mythical past, in Story Time long ago, when people and animals could talk with one another.

The episodes of *K'etetaalkkaanee* form what folklorists call a cycle, a group of stories united by one character. The *K'etetaalkkaanee* cycle differs from the Raven cycle in Koyukon tradition in that it must be told in its entirety and in a specific order. Catherine Attla has made it clear that in the *K'etetaalkkaanee* cycle, unity and sequence of the episodes are vital. If the story is told during the time for storytelling, between early winter and mid-winter, at least a week is needed, with several episodes being recounted each evening. As long as *K'etetaalkkaanee* is being told, no other story should be started.

This story cycle is about a boy who grows up, leaves his mother's home and goes on a long journey to live out his dreams and gain medicine power. From the beginning, readers and listeners know that *K'etetaalkkaanee* will leave home and that he will meet adventures and obstacles. The central question is whether he will overcome these obstacles and come back to his mother. If he does, he will be the first in his family to return from a spiritual medicine journey.

This is a common theme in Native American literature. With each dangerous encounter, *K'etetaalkkaanee's* medicine or spiritual power increases. The more difficult and dangerous the encounter, the more power he gains. His two brothers, who began similar journeys before him, did not have enough power to overcome certain obstacles. *K'etetaalkkaanee* discovers that one was killed and the other enslaved. Koyukon stories usually end as the hero either returns home a powerful medicine man or meets an obstacle that he cannot overcome.

Storytelling is an oral art among the Athabaskan people, and merely writing down the words cannot convey the story's entire meaning. Although the stories were traditionally told in the dark, many non-verbal clues accompanied them. The telling of the stories was, and is, considered as important as the content. Part of the enjoyment derived from a story comes from the way it is told. In this respect, the Athabaskan storytelling tradition is similar to the non-Athabaskan genre of drama.

Storytellers are not allowed to make changes or additions when telling *kk'edonts'ednee*, but they often make side comments and discuss the events in a story. They might also make adjustments for a particular audience, leaving out, for example, some things that might be inappropriate for children. Catherine Attla made several asides while telling *K'etetaalkkaanee*. At one point, when *K'etetaalkkaanee* remarked on the weakness of the soup that the camp robber family gave him, she said, "Why didn't he just keep quiet? He had to be fussy even though he did not carry his own food." In another episode, when *K'etetaalkkaanee* became afraid of the power of the medicine man in *mink's* village, Catherine Attla said, "It serves him right that he was afraid." Until that point, *K'etetaalkkaanee* had been smug about his own power. Humility is an important virtue in Athabaskan culture.

Catherine Attla learned the story of *K'etetaalkkaanee* from her late grandfather Francis Olin, a medicine man of the Koyukuk River. She said, however, that her grandfather never told her the end of the story. Out of curiosity, she finally asked her grandmother, who told her the ending once, and she remembered it from that one telling. Catherine Attla often speaks of her belief in the religious importance of these stories. She believes that they have been filling the spiritual need of people for years, and they have been the Bible of the Athabaskan people. To many of the Koyukon people who are Christian, the stories are like another testament, and telling them is like praying. Traditional stories are meant to entertain, educate and inspire — to cause the reader or listener to think. People believe that telling these stories not only instructs and entertains, but also shortens the winter and brings good fortune to the storyteller as well as the audience.

K'etetaalkkaanee was recorded by Catherine Attla in *Denaakk'e* (the Koyukon Athabaskan language), transcribed and translated by Eliza

Jones, and edited by Chad Thompson and Eliza Jones. We have tried to make our translations as true to the original *Denaakk'e* as possible. In balancing literary style and linguistic accuracy, we have used these guidelines: If the *Denaakk'e* sounds smooth but the English translation sounds awkward, the translation is a poor one. However, if, in an attempt to improve the translation's literary quality, so many liberties have been taken that the original meaning is lost, the translation is also poor.

We have followed the policies of translation outlined in the introduction to *Bakk'aatugh Ts'uhuniy*. Those policies are as follows:

Pronouns. We often used a full noun where the *Denaakk'e* has only a pronoun. For example, what in *Denaakk'e* is "He walked up to him" we translate as "K'etetaalkkaanee walked up to him."

The word *K'etetaalkkaanee* appears only a few times in *Denaakk'e* but is used throughout the English text. *K'etetaalkkaanee's* true name, *Betohoh*, is mentioned only twice — once by the narrator in the first episode, "Fish Camp," and once by the woman in "Camp Robber."

First person plural pronouns. While narrating *kk'edonts'ednee*, storytellers often use the first person plural *we* to refer to characters at the forefront of the action. In this book we translated these forms as *he*, *the man*, or *K'etetaalkkaanee*. Most often they are assigned to the main character of the story. Catherine Attla uses it for the Marten Man, Wolverine, and the man in the story "How Unlikely to be Hanging by the Neck From That." In the Mink story she uses the first person plural pronoun to refer to *K'etetaalkkaanee*.

The first person plural pronoun is also used to refer to an unspecified individual and is translated as *someone*. In the Marten story, for example, when Catherine says that someone is following *K'etetaalkkaanee*, she literally says, "we are following him."

Tone of voice. While telling stories, Catherine Attla used various voices to convey meaning and characterization. Where these conveyances are important, we added an adverb to indicate the intended mood.

Sentences. For stylistic reasons, we sometimes translated two or more *Denaakk'e* sentences as one English sentence or one *Denaakk'e* sentence as two or more English sentences.

Connectors. The *Denaakk'e* words *dehoon*, *ts'uh* and *to'ts'eyuh* can be given English meanings, but sometimes we had to rely on context and style

to determine how to translate them. For example, we translated the word *ts'uh* in various places as "so," "then," or "and."

Exclamations. We have assigned translations to *Denaakk'e* exclamations even though they might at times sound colloquial. The word *doo'* is the only one we left untranslated. It can be either an exclamation of mild surprise or a validation of one's expectations, similar to the English "Well, what do you know?"

Emphasis. When telling these stories, Catherine Attla emphasized certain words by drawing them out or saying them louder than others. We indicate drawn out words with three hyphens after a vowel (*Hudee---yh!*), and loud words with capital letters (Raven said, "GGAAKK!").

Ellipsis. In the *Denaakk'e* version, words or phrases are occasionally omitted. Such omissions are readily understood by *Denaakk'e* speakers, but because they might confuse English speakers, we included the missing words or phrases in the translations. We used ellipsis (...) in the *Denaakk'e* version.

Terms of address. Throughout the story, people address K'etetaalkkaanee in kinship terms even though they are not actually related to him. Traditional Athabaskan people refer to one another as uncle, nephew, grandparents or grandchildren, depending on age differences. Similarly, the term *ggenaa'*, "friend," or *seggenaa'*, "my friend," is used to refer to anyone the same age and sex as the speaker, even though that person might be a stranger. We translated kinship terms literally even though they are not taken as such.

Politeness. In at least two situations, Koyukon people traditionally use the third person singular (he/she) when talking to one person, and the third person plural (they) when talking to two or more people. Those situations are 1) out of politeness and respect and 2) in confrontations or reprimands. In the Camp Robber story, Mrs. Camp Robber uses the third person form out of respect, probably because she is a woman and because K'etetaalkkaanee is powerful. In the Wolverine story, Wolverine addresses K'etetaalkkaanee in the third person when he challenges him to fix his tooth.

Indirect reference or circumlocution. Athabaskans avoid direct reference to certain things or activities that involve spiritual power, luck or skill, especially things associated with medicine power or hunting. For

example, in the story "The One With Snowshoes Bent up on Both Ends," when K'etetaalkkaanee comes to a bear in its den, the word *bear* is not mentioned because the bear is too powerful to be named directly.

Format. These translations are phrase-for-phrase rather than word-for-word. Each *Denaakk'e* paragraph in a left-hand column has a corresponding English translation in the right-hand column. The lines in some cases do not match exactly because a *Denaakk'e* phrase might take two lines and the English translation only one, or vice versa.

The Koyukon orthography has been changed since the first two volumes of the Catherine Attla texts were published. The *i* and single *a* are now written as *e*, and the *tl* is now written as *ll*.

While for clarity we have taken liberties with the meanings of some words or phrases, we feel that the intended overall meaning is intact.

Eliza Jones
Chad Thompson
Alaska Native Language Center

Acknowledgments

We especially want to thank Cindy Davis for bringing these stories to life with her illustrations. Tom Alton and Lorraine Elder are to be thanked for editing, typesetting and preparing this book for publication. Chad Thompson typed the original translation from Eliza Jones' tape recorded translation. We also thank Joe Kwaraceius for help with final proofreading.

Saanlaaghedoh
Fish Camp



Go helde koon K'etetaalkkaanee beezneeyee. Huydok'egheeyo ts'e saan k'egheekkaan. Kk'udaa tl'ogho eey denaak'ekk'edonts'ed-nee' dodeenaalee heyughu nohol-negee.

Yegge gheel ts'uhut'aanh degheel yoogh saanlaaghedoh k'edaadletl'ee. Lo'ts'eyuh hutlenh ghu nelneyh. Degheel yegge Betohoh beezneeyee go keel letaanh, bel neltenh, bel neltenh. Yoogh kk'onheedeneeyh de heghetekk'e neelot ts'e bel neltenh. Ts'uh yoogh go hutlenh ghu nelneyh aatloogh tobaan yenk'eedet'ol hu gheel kk'o'eedoyh. Huyel zuhge lo'ts'eyuh k'ekk'oon ghu yuh telneeyh. Go k'ekk'oon yetzooy seeltonolyaayh ts'en'. K'ekk'oon k'eelekk'ee nelaanh ts'en' go noolaagh kk'oone'.

Ts'uh noyeetent'oyh, noyeetent'oyh. Ts'uh gheel yoodetaatleeyh, le'on aahaa. Huyel k'eelekk'ee dzoten kk'e k'edaaneelnenh t'aanh. Ts'uh

This is a story called K'etetaalkkaanee¹ It is about a man who walked all winter and paddled all summer. It is the longest of the stories that the people used to tell.

In the time very long ago, many people were staying at a fish camp. People were working very hard, putting away fish. There was a boy named Betohoh who slept and slept and slept. Between the short periods of time that he worked, he seemed to sleep a lot. One day he was walking around on the beach where people were cutting fish. Some camp robbers were busy carrying away fish eggs.² They were taking the fish eggs and carrying them away one egg at a time.

They kept carrying the eggs away, bit by bit. Then Betohoh began to throw rocks at them. He hit one of them on the leg and broke it. The camp robber flew off

1. K'etetaalkkaanee means "The One Who Paddled among the People and Animals."

2. The camp robber is a bird also known as the gray jay, Canada jay or whiskey jack.

yoogh bedzode kk'e k'edaalnenh
ts'e bedzode nedebeł dehoon gheel
no'eet'uk.

Ts'uh yoogh eet kk'adaa saan
hughelet. Huyts'edogho ode
letaanh. Neeflot ts'e k'etetaayh.

Yooghedone helde uhts'e
heghe'ene yegge denaa hun neef-
lotts'e beł eetenleteeyh. Yoogh
ts'aak'eedaah dehoon yegge denaa
gheel beł neltenh. Et'eeylo ts'aa-
hootee'oyenh ts'ednee.

Uhts'e dent'aa. Deyelneyoo
kkaa kk'e huyeen' ts'aa'elek.

Dehoon gheel boogh kkaa
gheel haahedeedyhtl. K'eelekk'ee
heelaanh ts'e haahedee'us, haah-
dee'us ts'uh naaheldehydlaa.
Kk'adaa hun koon udenh yaan'
yoogh gheel solt'aanh hebeyel
hoolaanh eehu hee. Kk'adaa hun
koon udenh yeen' donh yel ledo.

Huyel hun kk'adaa yoogh huyh
hoolaanh. Ts'uh nohoofekkk'otl.
Huyel gheel hun, "Eenaa, haadee-
taaghsol."

with its leg dangling limply in
the air.

The summer passed. The boy
slept the entire fall. He always
slept late.

It is said that long ago, if a
young person slept late like that,
if he or she kept sleeping after
everyone else had risen, it was a
sign that the young person was to
become a medicine person.³

That was what was happening
to Betohoh. He would get up after
everyone else in the family had
gotten up.

Before this, his brothers had
all left home. They had left one
by one and had never returned. He
was the only one remaining—he
might have had a sister too, but
we don't know. At that time, he
was the only one who remained
with his mother.

Then it was winter. It was
after it had become cold. He said,
"Mom, I'm leaving."

3. Traditionally, young people were trained to rise early in the morning. It would have been unusual for a young person to sleep late except if he or she were becoming a medicine person.

"Tlegede donodetaalenee' gonee? Nedaadenh go huts'e duh-t'aanh? Ees noogh kkaa k'eefekk'enh zokk'ut no'eeldoyaa haadeegheedyhdlee kkaa. Go to nedaats'e duht'aa ts'e go deduhnee? Nenh zokk'ut seyel leedo," yedetaalnee' eehoo.

Eenh hoghaadleneek, ts'uh, "Eenaa, ts'aal haadeetaaghesol," nee. Doo' baanh doyedeneegheel-k'eet eehoo dehoon haadeeyo.

"What is he talking about? Where is everybody going? Your brothers have all left and not one has returned. What is wrong with all of you, anyway? You, at least, should stay with me," she begged him, futilely.

He got ready and said, "It will be okay, Mom. I'm going to leave anyway." His mother tried to persuade him to stay, but to no avail; he left.

Zuhge
Camp Robber



De yoogh nedaats'e neek'o-
hoł. Huyel hun do'o hun naakk-
lookkuno holeghee'o de hun
hutaatl'-aanh. Eet huts'e taalyo.
Eet neeneeyo, ts'uh doogh dekkaa'
dełghel.

Go haahaa helodelnenh ts'en'.
Go helde ts'eedaahaa kk'oyenee-
'eedeleede daa' helde yuh hedaa-
heto'ustl. Go helde yoogh don helde
uhdehot'eek ts'ednee. No'o dzo-
ghoteey laaldoy neehce'os ts'uh
hedekkaa' hedełghel.

Ts'uh hedoneeyo. Huyel go hun
sołt'aanh saakkaa' yet yeh ledō.

Huyel hun aanee hun hek'edaa-
neelkool. Ts'ede etlkool. At'eeylo
bet'oh ts'etltaanee.

Huyel hun go sołt'aanh hun,
"Anaa sekoye, nedaats'e koon ghe-
hol det'aanh? Kk'udaa betsey nen'
nee'eeltl'et denh. Kk'udaa betsey
denaataatldlee' denh," nee.

He had been walking for a long
time when he caught sight of an
underground house from which
smoke was rising. He started to
walk toward it. He went up to it
and brushed his feet.

This is how they used to knock:
If somebody had bad intentions,
he would not knock—he would
walk right in. It is said that that
is what they used to do long ago.
When they came to the entryway
they brushed their feet.

He went inside. A woman and
her children were in the house.

Something by the back wall
was covered with a blanket. A
blanket was lying there. Appar-
ently a sick person lay under it.

The woman said, "My dear
grandchild, where did he come
from? His grandfather is bedrid-
den back there. His grandfather is
about to cause us to starve."¹

1. The woman used the third person singular forms "he" and "his" instead of directly addressing him with "you" and "your." Also, she called him "grandchild" even though they were not related. In *Denaakk'e* (Koyukon) it is common to address someone as a grandchild if

Dehooon non! baabe yoho ekk'o-
hootaatl-'onh.

Huyel gheel, "Eey, huts'e zo soo'
deggeldo ts'e det'aan! Yegge saan
kk'oontlee' k'ek'edeenaadlekoot de
k'edzoten k'oodeleeyh ghu detaal-
t'aanee. Nugh ees Betohoh Tsee-
k'aal dzoten kk'e k'edaaneefnenh.
Ts'uh nonce ees uhts'e haahaa
kk'udaa nen' nee'eeltl'et," beeznee.

Yoogh kk'oon' denkee gheel
hun hedononaat'onh ts'uh non!
eeydee gheel etlbaats. Tolet etl-
tseenh. Ts'uhu kk'udaa non! go,
"Neeyonenh, don! kk'udaa k'ee-
honh," beeznee. "Neeyonenh,"
hedegheenee' ts'uhayaan'. Ts'uh
kk'udaa non! baabe ghu neeneeyo.
Kk'udaa gheel k'etlekk'aat gheel-
hee. Ts'uh k'etaalhon'. Ts'uh tolet
dedeekkonh, go kk'oon' tolet.
Ts'uh yedenoonh, ts'e yedenoonh.
Huyel kk'oon' gheel hudegaal belo
toneghee'once, ts'e go dodnee
nek'uh? K'edodlekel dehoonh.
"Dzo! Selo tok'enghee'onh," nee.
Ts'uh kk'aatugh helde koon doogh
ode uhts'e dehednee.

Quickly, she began to cook some
food in the center of the house.

"Is that the only reason
Betohoh awoke? Last summer he
threw rocks at the leg of the one
who was putting away fish eggs.
It was then that Betohoh broke
his grandfather's leg with a rock.
That is why he is bedridden now,"
she told him.

She brought in about four fish
eggs and boiled them. She made a
broth from them. She said, "New-
comer, come eat." They used to
call any newcomer *neeyonenh*.²
He went to the place where the
food was being served. He must
have been hungry. He began to
eat. He put the fish egg broth up
to his mouth. He drank it and
drank it. Finally one fish egg
floated into his mouth. Why
didn't he just keep quiet? He had
to be fussy even though he did not
carry his own food. He said,
"Finally! One little fish egg
floated into my mouth." People
still say these words the way
they are said in this story.³

he or she is young enough to be someone's grandchild. Similarly, if people are old enough to be grandparents, they are often referred to that way. When the woman said that the grandfather was about to cause the family to starve, she meant that he was unable to hunt to bring them food.

2. *Neeyonenh* means "the one who came."

3. If people swallow something solid while drinking thin or watery soup, they say, "Dzo selo tok'enghee'onh," "finally, a pellet floated into my mouth."

Doogh kk'udaa betsoo
yek'egheelon'. "Koyh, go nedaats'e
huyel zee neghoo'aa'ne," yetnee.

Go helde soo' yugh neetoneyhtl
yoodnee ts'uh. Go deyenenh
nelaanh ts'e gheel heyeneel'aaanee.
Nedaats'e ghulaa'.

Huyel hun kk'udaa k'egheehon'
de hutl'oghanh nonee yugh nee-
neeyo. Ts'uh, "Nedaadenh?"
yetnee. Doogh dedzoten yogeas
gheel bezo neeneetonh. Go hun koon
k'etsaan' beltl'oonh. At'eeylo
k'etsaan' bezaatlil'oonh go behool-
neh ts'uh. Ts'uh doogh eeydee
gheel baats'edeneetonh. Ts'uh
yedeldool gheelhee. Huyel hun
neelghu noyedaaneeldokk.

"Anaa sekoye, dodenaahoo-
degheel'aa'ne koon betsey yende-
naa'eetaatldlee' denh." Go
k'ughulaagh edenh nee ts'en'.

Kk'udaa henaaldzet. Yuh
sots'eeyh aahaa t'aanh dehenaah.

After his grandmother had fed
him, she said, "Grandchild, could
you possibly look at his leg and use
whatever power you might have."

She said this thinking that
K'etetaalkkaanee might be able to
help him. She must have noticed
something about him that indicat-
ed that he was a medicine person.
I don't know.

After he ate, K'etetaalkkaanee
went back to the sick person and
asked him, "Where does it hurt?"
Then the camp robber exposed his
poor old, skinny leg. A blade of
grass had been used as a splint.
Apparently they had tied grass to
his leg after it broke. K'etetaal-
kkaanee took off the blade of grass
and blew repeatedly on the leg,
making sputtering noises.⁴ He
healed it.

"My dear grandchild, how for-
tunate that he came to us just as his
grandfather was about to cause us to
starve." She meant that there
would have been no one to catch
game for them.

Then they all went to bed. They
were so happy.

4. Koyukon medicine people used to blow on wounds to help them heal.

Yoogh nedaats'e neeholel kk'o-dehun', lo go hun ts'aano'eedelet. "Haa! Loghun hot'aanh denh," yeneelenh. "Loghun k'edenhne yet tlede esleet," yeneelenh. Ts'uh doogh degge daanee'neek. Huyel hun haadok'edeefneeyaa. Ts'uh kk'udaa doogh huneef'aanh. Go t'aanh yuh k'etlkoot go heyogho k'egheehonee.

Go helde neteehde huya'an' k'odon' yooghedone kk'edonts'ednee koonh. Neteehde huya'an' k'ehohonh dehoon dzaan hugheelek. Helts'en' hegho k'ehon kkaa ts'aahedeh. Ts'uh helts'en' koon k'enonodeneyh ts'uhuya'an' hoo-gheela' hednee.

Uhts'e gheel dehoot'aa hee don't t'aanh k'etlkoot doogh eey-dee ghu degge daanee'neek. Doogh hun tl'oyee zuhge tson yaan' hoolaanh. Ts'e hogho doogh yeh huneef'aanh. Huyel doogh hun koon k'ekkelaa. Ts'uh yoogh go k'edolke' gheelhee nedaats'e ghulaa'? Tleeno'eedeyo huyel do'oogh hun ts'ebaa kkaakenh te zuhge henodelnaah. At'eeylo k'en-hetllaat. Kk'udaa yeetlkkonh ts'uh haanodeedeyo.

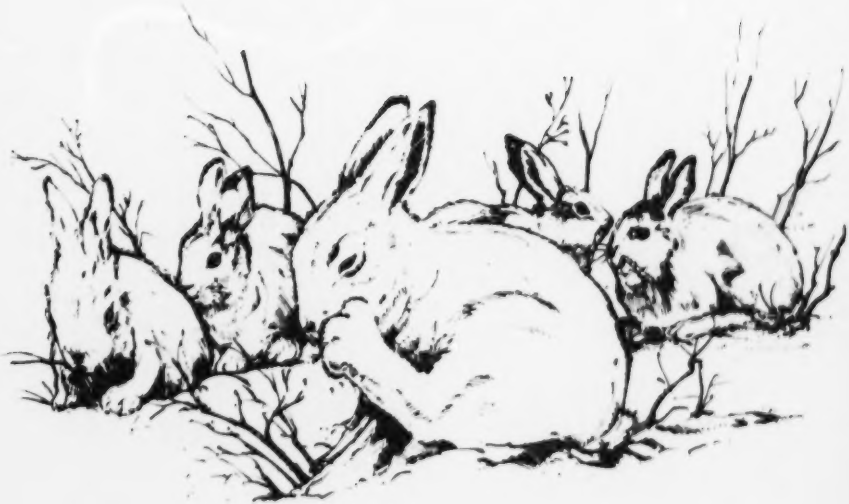
At some time during the morning he woke up. He thought, "Oh, yes, I remember. I'm spending the night with some strangers." He got up. Everything was quiet. He looked around. He looked around for food leftover from supper.

It is said that long ago people ate only two meals a day; this was true for our more recent ancestors and for people of story time. They ate only twice a day. They ate in the evening and they ate when they got up in the morning. In fact, they say that people used to cook only one big meal a day.⁵

That is why he looked for leftovers after he got up. All he could find were some camp robber drop-pings in the dish. He looked all around the house. Nobody was around. Maybe he was carrying some food with him. Maybe he did not even eat. He went back outside, and there were many camp robbers among the bases of the spruce trees. Apparently the people had become camp robbers. After it became daylight, he left.

5. They would eat the leftovers for breakfast the following morning.

Gguh
Rabbit



Ts'uh koon kk'udaa haanodee-
deyo. Ts'uh doogh gheho!, gheho!,
gheho!. Kk'udaa yoogh koon ne-
daats'e neenok'eedeyo. Huyel hun
yoogh nohutaaldonh denh gheel
hugh taalyo. Go nohutaaldonh
denh hugh gheho!. Huyel doogh
hun gguh nonotlee'celtonh. Ts'uh
go de'oy ghu dek'ol haadeneelo.
Dek'ol dekk'e yeghee'ugh yet dolo-
k'eghaaltonh. Ts'uh go daangge
kk'udaa eet daa'en gheho!. Huyel
do'o hun yeh hoolaanh. Eet gheel
go ede det'aanh ts'e laaldoy nee-
neeyo. Ts'uh dekkaa' delghe!. Ts'uh
kk'udaa naayegge hedoneeyo.

Huyel go hun koon soft'aanh de-
denaa' kkaa yet yeh ledoo. O be-
kkun' gheel koon ledohce nedaats'e
ghulaa'? Ts'uh kk'udaa heyek'e-
taatlon'. Huyel hun yuhu baabe
kk'e de'eet'eyee baabe eedlene-
yaayee eenh go baabe nelaanh
gheel heyegheelon'. Ts'uhu et'ceylo
koon dekenh.

At'ceylo yoogh gguh yehonee
k'olgees delogh yoogh ts'etl delo-
gheeye gheel go chonee huyh te.

Ts'uh kk'udaa go yenk'ehoon'

He left once again. He walked
and walked and walked. Once
again, he walked for a long time.
He came upon a place where there
was a strip of land between two
lakes. While taking a shortcut
across it, he came upon a rabbit
trail. He removed the foot straps
from his snowshoes and set a
spring-pole snare. Then he re-
sumed walking. He came upon a
house. As was his custom, he went
to the entryway, brushed his feet,
and went inside.

A woman and her children
were inside the house. I don't
know whether her husband was
there or not. They started to feed
him. It did not taste like food to
him when he ate it, but he ate it
anyway. Apparently it was
sticks.

Rabbits eat them. They eat
only willow shoots and willow
tips in the winter.

They ate and sat around. Then

ts'e hedaadletl'ee. Huyel yegge keel hun bedenaa' keel k'eelekk'enh degge daaneeeneegenh hun notaale-tl'oon'. Gguh lel ggoftlaakk nenodol-kool, gguh lel kkaakenh koonh gguh lel ts'eh koonh, gguh lel gets koonh. Yuh gguh lel yaan' yee eletl'oonh. Naa'en t'aanh tleetaalyo. Ts'e yoogh dehoot'aa. Huyel hun hedono'eeldoyaa. Tledaal. Hedono'eeldoyaa eenhde huyel gheel he-naaldzedee. Huyel go keel tleetaalyo baanh gheel hun k'edetaaldlee'.

"Kk'odone done seyoze yoze kk'oonootseeyh okko tleetaaleyo. Adenh tlede hugheelet. Nogheeldoyhtl, nogheeldoyhtl. Kk'odone done seyoze yoze kk'oonootseeyh okko tleetaaleyo. Adenh tlede hugheelet. Nogheeldoyhtl, nogheeldoyhtl."

Tlaa hedodetoneyhdlenh tlede dodetaatlneek. Go kk'oonootseeyh gheel go nooyoogh kk'ayloo node-nolyaalee tledone, eeydee ent'aa go kk'oonootseeyh yetneeyee. Kk'udaa yuh haahaa bel eetenool-daah ts'e hedeenh. Gheel, "Hudee---yh! Hu endenk'e bel eetenol-ten to donts'e denaadeyoghee?" nee.

Huyel hedodegheetset, go sol-t'aanh. Naa'en huts'e laaldoyegge daa'en huts'e hudetaaleggut. Tleentl'ok'edodetluul eetl'ekk.

one of the woman's sons got up and began to get dressed. He put on a rabbit-skin parka, as well as rabbit-skin boots, a rabbit-skin hat, and rabbit-skin mittens. Everything he wore was made from rabbit skin. Then he went outside. He was gone a long time. He never returned home. It became dark. He still had not come home when they went to bed. The mother of the boy who had left began to sing.

"Early yesterday, my little son went out for sandbar willows. The night passed without him. Be coming home, be coming home. Early yesterday, my little son went out for sandbar willows. The night passed without him. Be coming home, be coming home."

When would she ever stop? She sang through the entire night. *Kk'oonootseeyh* are the small willows that grow on sandbars. He was not able to get any sleep because of her singing. Finally he said, "Hey! When is that one singing over there going to stop?"

Suddenly, the woman stopped. He heard thumping noises going out the door. In the dark he heard some things hopping out the door.

Degheel kk'udaa yuh bel ee-naadledaakk. Go yuh bel ede nee-dozaaneeltaanh ts'uh hobelye-gheeltaanh. Ts'e yoogh nedaats'e neeholel huyel hun ts'aano'eedelet.

"Haa! Loghune hot'aanh denh," yeneelenh. Kk'udaa koon degge daaneetneek. Ts'uh doogh huneel'aanh. Huyel doogh hunde yeh k'ekkelaa. Ts'e hogho doogh huneel'aanh.

Huyel doogh hun et'eeylo gguh doodze laaghe doogh hun gguh doodze yaan' hoolaanh. Kk'udaa doo' donhugh hun koon kk'oonoo-tseeyh yaan' tl'oyee hoolaanh go k'egheefkoot hu. Ts'uh dekenh yaan' gheehon' ts'e lo go k'etle-kk'aa dent'aa. Yenodetoolney edenh.

Ts'uh gheel, "Haa ho do'o nohutaaldonh det'aanh sek'ol yet dolok'eghaalstonh," yeneelenh. "Tlaa eey zee eeydee no'eenaaghege'aan'," yeneelenh. Ts'uh naa'en eeydee ts'e notaaleyo. Do'o zo gguh nogheek'et. At'eeylo eeydee go bekk'aa tlede k'ets'egheetseghee. At'eeylo eleluyh yegge kk'odon done tleetaalyo done. Ts'uh kk'udaa eeydee no'eltaanh. Ts'uh kk'udaa eeydee enodaadlenceek. Gguh naaghedon'. Ts'uh kk'udaa eeydee kkaa koon haanodeedeeyo.

Finally, he went to sleep. Because he had not been able to sleep before that, he went right to sleep. I don't know how long he slept before he woke up.

He thought, "Oh! Yes, I remember." He got up and looked around. Nobody was there. He looked around in the kitchen area.

All that was left were some rabbit droppings. He also found some plates with willows on them where the leftover food from supper had been. That was why he had not felt full the night before, even though he had eaten a full meal. He had nothing to cook.

Then he thought, "Oh, yes, I set a spring-pole snare yesterday with my snowshoe straps." He thought, "Maybe I'll go check it, even though I may not have caught anything." He went to check it. A rabbit was hanging in the snare. It was the one that someone had cried for all night. Apparently it had been snared early in the day, soon after it had gone out. He took the rabbit to the house and cooked it. He ate the rabbit and started walking again.

K'ets'eghultoon Denaa Yoo
The Chickadee People



Ts'uh kk'udaa yooqhe koon gheho!, gheho!. Ahuyel kk'udaa yooqh nedaats'e neek'oho!. Ts'uh kk'udaa yooqh gheho!, gheho!. Go uhdon kk'obelyeetltaanh hu gheel go gheholee. Ts'uh yooqh yuh deten noghedo! kk'aant'aa gheelhee. Kk'udaa yooqhe gheho!. Huyel yegge hun koon hōleghee'o. Eet huts'e taalyo. Kk'udaa yooqh eet neeyo. Go ede det'aanh ts'e laa!-doy neeneeyo. Ts'uh dekkaa' del-ghe!. Ts'uh hedotaalyo. Go hunde koon yeh ts'eledzok. Bedenaa' kkaa lon, denaa yoze kkaa gheel yeh daadletl'ee. Hededenaa' kkaa yel yeh heldo, neelkkun' kkaa.

"Hee! Denaa edenh de debaa koon det'aanh. Huts'e dogheet'aa' koon det'aanh?" hednee gheelhee.

Ts'uh kk'udaa, "Heen', nugh hedonok'eneelkoot nugh ts'encee-'ots," nee gheel go denaa.

Naa'en t'aanh tleetaadletluh, go solt'aanh. Yooqhe ode dehoot'aa. Huyel hun do'ots'e hun notluhtl loy yooqh k'eggootl he'etl'eh. At'eeylo kk'udaa hedonok'etaadlekoot.

He continued to walk and walk. He had been walking for a long time. He walked and walked. He was walking where he had already journeyed in his sleep. It was as if he were backtracking. He was walking along. Way off in the distance he could see a trail of smoke extending upward. He began to walk toward it. He walked up to it. As usual, he went up to the entryway, brushed his feet, and went inside. Many people were in the house. A big family of small people was living there. A man and his wife and their children lived there.

"Hey! There are no people around here. Where did he come from?" they said happily.

The man said, "Honey, bring in some food. We have a visitor."

The woman rushed out. She was gone for a while. She came back with a scraper that had on its edge some scrapings from a skin. Apparently those scrapings were the food she was bringing in to cook.

Go helde uhts'e hukk'aatugh
ees helde koon yegge huys'en' te
yoogh belel daaletl'edze ehelaayh
tuh eeydee let en daadeyus ts'e
daahedelkeyhtl. Go Grandpa ghee-
laa' ees sunughul uhdaaghet'aan'.
Eeydee helde yuh huyee ts'aadet-
keyhtl go k'ets'eghultoon. At'eeylo
yooghe uh det'aanh gheelhee eey-
dee gheel needaalkoodde.

"Hudee—yh! Lo'ts'e sedzoghe
dehoot'aa de gen egholgudzeyee
do'ots'e deyfaanee?" koon ts'eye-
neelenh gheelhee.

Soot'e yuh kk'e ts'enaal'onh
gheelhee ts'e go, go solt'aanh
gheel, "Yee! Hebeghuda' neeyo,
k'edeeteey denosloh," nee. Go
k'edeeteey nekoghe enotaletl-
neek, nee ts'en'.

Ts'uh nee, ts'e gheel kk'udaa
nonle yeyel dok'edaal'onh. Huyel
gheel hun koon nekoh ts'e dede-
yoh, go k'eggootl baadze'. My!
Hun koon yuh k'enaaldon'. Kk'u-
daa yoogh helts'edogho hooneelet.
Ts'uh gheel kk'udaa henaaldzet.
Naaltaanh.

Yooghe tlede hugheelet lonh.

This is why, in the fall when
people catch the thing with the
black skin, they hang up the skin
with the inside turned outward.¹
I saw my grandpa do that. The
chickadees clean it up well, and
store it as their food supply.

Then he thought to himself,
"Oh my! I'm really hungry. Is
that all she's going to cook?"

The woman must have seen the
expression on his face, and said
while she was preparing the food,
"Oh dear! Their cousin came, and
I overdid it." She was saying that
there would be plenty of food.

Saying that, she put a pot
with the scrapings in it over the
fire. Soon the boiled scrapings
expanded. My! When he ate, he
had more than enough. The even-
ing passed. They all went to bed.
He went to bed.

The night passed. As usual, he

1. "The thing with the black skin" refers to a black bear. The word "bear" was seldom spoken by traditional Koyukon people. When people caught a bear, they hung the skin away from where people were staying, usually near the den where the bear had been killed. When they hung it up, they turned the fleshy side outward so that the chickadees could pick at it.

Dehoon go ede det'aanh ts'e ts'aa-
no'eedelet. Ts'uh, "O foghune!"
yeneelenh. Kk'udaa koon degge
daaneelneek. Huyel haadok'edee-
leneeyaa, go ede dehoot'aa' ts'en'.
Donlughe hunee'aanh. Dooghe
hun saanhggaagge tson kk'aan-
t'aay yaan' gheel tl'oyee hoolaanh
go t'aanh k'egheelkoot denh.

Ts'uh daa'en tleeneeyo. Huyel
do'ooghe hun koon k'ets'eghultoon
yuh ts'ebaa kkaakenh te henodel-
naah. Uhts'e hukk'aatugh ees
koon det'aanh. At'eeylo huyh
huggaagge laaghe.

Go yet o yooche gen gheel
naaghedonee? Ts'uh kk'udaa
yooche koon haanodeedeyo.

woke up and thought "Oh, yes!"
He got up. As usual, the house was
still. He looked around. All that
was left in the house were bird
droppings in the dish where the
food had been.

He went outside. He saw many
chickadees around the base of a
spruce tree. To this day it is like
that. There are always a lot of
winter birds around the bases of
the spruce trees.

He must have eaten something
and then left.

Tsonggude, Eł Ehone, Delbegge
Willow Grouse, Spruce Grouse,
And Ptarmigan



Ts'uh ghehoł, ghehoł, ghehoł.
Yoogh gheel tlede nena'elet.
Kk'udaa yooghe koon nedaats'e
neek'ohoł.

Hen ghehoł hen hukk'aatugh
ghehoł. Huyel nedaa yoodo hun
koon yuh tenkk'e denaa aahaa
dohunaah. Kk'udaa eet huts'e
ghehoł. At'eeylo koon tenkk'e be-
kkaa'eekkoy det'aanh. Tl'ogho
yuh denaa aahaa yuh nedaats'e
ghulaa' dehoot'aa gheelhee go
denaa lonh ts'en'. Kk'udaa eet
neeneeyo. Ts'uh doogh denaa
kk'aabaaghe lehaanh gheelhee.

Huyel yegge denaa hun, "Gge-
naa, go to neenyohce?" yetnee.

"Oho', go ees et'eghel neso," nee.

"Ggenaa, onee' seyel tegheedo',"
beeznee gheel.

Ts'uh, "Oho'," nee.

Kk'udaa eeydee yet tonoleyo.
Kk'udaa yoogh soonhedel'ot de-
hoon gheelhee. Dehoon kkenaa

He walked and walked and
walked, spending the night here
and there. He walked for a long
time.

He walked along a river,
following the bends. When he
came around a bend, he saw many
people down at the end of a long
stretch of the river. He walked
toward them. They were playing
a game of kickball. Many people
were there. The sight was impres-
sive. He went to that place and
stood at the edge of where the
people were.

A man walked up and said to
him, "Friend, did you just arrive?"

"Yes," he said, "I just arrived."

"Come, friend, you will stay
with me," the man said to him.

"Okay," K'etetaalkkaanee
replied.

He went up the bank with him
while the kickball game was
going on. They were all talking

aahaa yuh dohudnee yuh k'oolleel-
t'l'onaa, go k'edeeteey netoogh kke-
naahedelghus ts'en'.

Kk'adaa, "Ggenaa, nugh
k'etegheehon'," beeznee. Ts'uh
edeeyel hedonots'eeltaanh.

Kk'adaa go hun solt'en yeh daa-
dletl'ee. Yoogh kk'adaa k'enaah-
taatlneek. Huyel hun genee ghulaa'
go yuh leggun kk'aant'aay gheel
enotaalneek. Huyel hun, "Ggenaa,
dzaan yooduhte dennots'ehool-
'eele," hednee gheel neef'ehedenee.

"Gen koon deloghe te hey'e-
laay soo' de'ehednee?" yeneelenh.
"Yoogh delogh huggaagge hey'e-
laay go deheyneeyee," yeneelenh
gheelhee.

Ts'uh kk'adaa yuh k'enolneek.
K'egheehon'. Yoogh tledohudeel-
leyhtl de gheel k'etlekk'aa dent'aa.
Bedzoghe dehoot'aa gheelhee.
K'egheehon' kk'e de'eelt'aa'aa.

Kk'adaa yoogh henaaldzet. Go
ede det'aanh ts'e gheel naaltaanh.
Nontugh t'aanh yuh baabe kk'e-
hooghee'o. Kk'adaa tlede hughee-
let. Ts'uh ts'aano'eedelet. Huyel
haadok'edeelneeyaa. Kk'adaa
kk'odehun' ts'aaneelet. Ts'uh
doogh hunee'aanh. Huyel doogh

but he could not understand them,
they were talking so fast.

Then the man said to K'etetaal-
kkaanee, "Friend, you will eat,"
and brought him into his house.

Some women were in the house.
They began to cook. They were
cooking something that looked like
dried fish. One of them said to the
other, "Friend, we didn't go up to
the treetops to do our usual thing."

K'etetaalkkaanee wondered,
"What do they catch in the tree-
tops? They must be talking about
some game animal that they catch
up in the trees," he thought.

Then the cooking was finished.
He ate but not long afterwards he
was hungry again. He was hungry.
It was as if he had never eaten.

Then everybody went to bed. As
usual, he went to bed. A lot of food
was left over. The night passed and
he woke up. The house was still
when he woke up in the morning.
He looked around. Nobody was in
the house. When he had gone to
bed, the house had been noisy with

hun yeh denaa kkela. Go t'aanh yuh kkenaa aahaa yuh neget ts'e duhudnee denh. Soot'e yuh dohudnee kk'e duhudnee tleeteey.

Tleeneeyo huyel denaaghencee-de dodeggu hun koon yuh tson-ggude yel el ehon yel delbegge yel tl'ogho yuh hudelggukk deloghe. At'eeylo eeydee kkaa go yugh nee-yoyee. Ts'e go k'edeeteey netoogh kkenaa hedelghus ts'e go netoogh koon kk'oheededaa. Ts'uh yuh kk'onk'ehenaadleyeel kk'e dehe-t'aanh. Nedaats'e yoogh delbegge ghelgguyhtl te...

Ts'uh do'o t'aanh detl'eelten nogheelzook. Ts'uh dodeggu yoo-ghe yuhu neget ts'e duhut'aanh k'eelekk'ee nogheek'enh. Eeydee kk'udaa koon enodaadleneege kkaa koon kk'udaa haanodeedeyo.

conversation. He thought he heard some noise outside.

He went out and, to his surprise, up on the treetops, willow grouse, spruce grouse, and ptarmigan were all clucking. Those were the people to whom he had come. That was why they had talked so fast and were such fast runners. It had been as if they were flying around. You know how fast ptarmigan are.

He picked up his bow and arrow and shot one down from a place where they were all in a group. Strengthened by eating it, he left again.

Tenh Noo K'etelkkuyenh
The One Who Spears
Through the Ice



Ts'e kk'udaa yoogh koon gheho!, gheho!. Ts'uh go huyts'en' hoolaanh ts'uh yoogh teey tseetl eelkoghaa gheelhee. Ts'uh kk'udaa benh edeeyo. Nedaagh yooghee hun ts'o'ustl. Eeydee ts'e taalyo. Yenee'aanh yets'e gheho! huyel yegge hun koon k'etelkkuyh. Huyel yegge hun bebaaney loy hun lookk'e hegheghedeeltaanh. Yugh neeneeyo.

"Yee! Ggenaa', zeeduh ent'aa go dest'aanh. Go ees nedodon ghulaa' k'egheson'?" nee, go zee yek'e-lookk'e nee'aanh ts'uh gheelhee.

Ts'uh kk'udaa, "O, enaa seggen'-aa', oho', tlaa doogh tl'ee," nee de-hoon daa'en bek'ots'e yetaalyo, hoda. Huyel hun go dek'ebaaneyh hun taatlkkuyh. Noyoolneek lookk'e begheghedeeltaanh. At'eeylo "Tenh Noo K'etelkkuy" beeznee.

Kk'udaa lookk'e denloh ts'uh kk'udaa nongge yeyel tonoleyo. Benh ghu tobaan yeh hoo'aanh

He walked and walked. Because it was early in the winter, very little snow was on the ground. He came upon a lake. Far across the lake, he saw someone walking. K'etetaalkkaanee started to walk toward him. As he walked toward him, he saw him throwing a spear. A fish hung from his spear when he pulled it from the ice.¹ K'etetaalkkaanee walked up to him.

"Oh my! Friend, I am just barely walking. I don't know when I ate last," K'etetaalkkaanee said, having seen the man's fish.

The man replied, "Oh, my dear friend, just wait while I get some more." He walked on the ice with K'etetaalkkaanee behind him. They walked slowly and the man threw his spear. A fish hung from it when he pulled it out. Apparently this man is called "The One Who Spears through the Ice."

When the man had caught enough fish, K'etetaalkkaanee went up the bank with him. The man had a

1. The lake was frozen, but the man was able to spear fish through the ice without chopping a hole in it.

Tenh Noo K'etelkkuyenh

lonh de kk'udaa nongge yeyel
hedono'eedyo. Kk'udaa eet nonl
lookk'e yen'eelt'aa'.

"Ggenaa', k'eehonh," yelnee.
Lo'ts'eyuh k'eenaaldon'. "Ggenaa',
neek'edeeghoolkoodo yu," yelnee.
Uhts'e heghe'en yedelnee'aa
dehoon.

Lookk'e naaldon' ts'uh go helde
debeeznee ts'uh doogh k'enot el
t'oh ghee'onh. "Tlaa eey gen ghu
soo' dednee?" yoodnee ts'en'.

Ts'uh kk'udaa yoogh helts'edo-
gho ode hoozonh ts'e tlede
heghelet, hedeggenaa' yel.
Kk'udaa kk'odehun' ts'aaheneelet.

Huyel hun, "Hodee ggenaa',
benh enozeeto'tustl," beylnee
hundenh.

Go k'ehuhdeehon' dehoon go
neek'edaalkoot.

Gheel kk'udaa notlen nukk'u-
hedee'ots. Ts'uh doogh benotle
yohol. Yenee'faanh. Gheel lookk'e
taat'l'aanee go ede det'aanh ts'en',
go denaa. Huyel tenh dlet'es.

2. The man's request was unusual. Food from the evening meal usually was saved for the next morning's meal.

The One Who Spears Through the Ice

house on the shore of the lake.
K'etetaalkkaanee went inside with
him. The man cooked the fish.

"Friend, eat some," the man
told him. He ate a lot. "Friend,
don't save any for later," the man
told him, without telling him
why he said that.²

When K'etetaalkkaanee ate,
there was so much fish that, in
spite of what he had been told, he
hid a piece under a spruce bough
being used for flooring. He thought,
"I wonder why he said that."

He and his friend visited and
then spent a good night together.
They woke up in the morning.

His friend told him, "Okay,
friend, let's go out to the lake
again."

They had eaten all the food,
except what K'etetaalkkaanee had
saved.

They walked back down the
bank. The man walked ahead of
him. K'etetaalkkaanee watched
him. The man must have seen a
fish, and he began to do what he

Tenh Noo K'etelkkuyenh

"Yee! Ggenaa', neek'edaaneenle-koot kk'aant'aa," yelnee.

"Enaa seggen'aa' yuh baabe kk'aa seye! hoot'eel k'enaalsdon'. Ts'uh loghun k'enot t'aanh neen-s'onh," nee, go zee soohoonaney deyeeloh eenee'ee.

Ts'uh, "Hee! Ggenaa, tonolee-doyh ts'uh tledee'oyh," yelnee.

Naa'en denohooloh. Kk'udaa yoonggu tonoleyo. Ts'uh tleyede-gheefnenh, go k'enot neeyeenee-'onee. Kk'udaa notlen yugh nukku'nodeelggok.

Kk'udaa yoogh koon kk'ok'ehe-naal'eeyh, kk'ok'ehenaal'eeyh. Huyel hun kk'udaa koon nok'etaatl-kkuyh. Huyel bebaaney loy lookk'e hegheghedeeltaanh. Kk'udaa oho' ts'uh kk'udaa nok'ehodon', go lookk'e yenoldlaan nohodon'.

Ts'uh kk'udaa, "Ggenaa, o doogh ghesol," deggenaa' elnee.

Ts'uh, "Oho'," nee. "Enaa seggen'aa' baasee' go seye! tlede gheenlet," nee. Hoozoonh ts'e deggenaa' yel tlede gheleet. Ts'uh kk'udaa eet koon haanodeedeyo.

The One Who Spears Through the Ice

usually did. The spear got stuck in the ice. He said, "Oh! My friend, I think you saved some of the food."

"My dear friend, I was not myself from want of food, and after I filled up, I hid a piece away," K'etetaalkkaanee replied, even though he had done it on purpose.

The man said to him, "Oh dear! Friend, go back up the bank and put it in the fire."

K'etetaalkkaanee rushed back, went back up the bank, and threw the piece of fish that he had saved into the fire. Then he ran back down the bank.

Once again, they were sneaking and sneaking around. Soon the man threw his spear again and pulled up a fish on the end of it. Once again, they ate. They ate the fish that he caught.

Then K'etetaalkkaanee told his friend, "Friend, I have to be going."

His friend said, "Okay. Thank you, my dear friend, for spending the night with me." He had spent a good night with his friend. Once again, he left.

Belaazone

Otter



Yooḡh ghehoḷ, ghehoḷ, ghehoḷ.
 Kk'udaa koon benh ku---h enodee-
 deyo. Ts'uh dooḡh eet kkokk'e
 taalyo. Huyel dooḡh hun yuh de-
 kenbes oyh yee nehoonolzaah.
 Dekenbes oyh yee yuh kkokk'e
 nosededeyhtl lonh. Go oyh, kk'eeyh
 eenaadleyoy bekkaal kk'aa huya'an'
 hugh eelt'odlee ent'aa go dekenbes
 oyh. Kkaal ghaafelen gheel go
 koon dekenbes oyh bets'edeghee-
 nee'ee. Grandpa gheela' ees uh
 dent'aay ghest'aan' degheenee'.

Ts'uh kk'udaa aado kk'elyee
 yuh k'edeeteey huts'e nehoonol-
 zaah. Ts'uh eet huts'e kkokk'e ghe-
 hoḷ. Eet kk'elyee ghehoḷ huyel
 do'o hun hodzonhghee'o. Go hoo-
 tl'elts'e hudaalkk'un' te gheel go
 holeghee'o. Dehoon hodzonh-
 ghee'o te helde yooḡh hudaale-
 ts'eek kk'e dehoot'aa tuh. Do'o
 hunde hodzonhghee'o. Ts'uh
 dooḡh go ede det'aanh ts'e laaldoy
 neeneeyo. Ts'uh dekkaa' delghel.
 Naayegge hedoneeyo. Huyel donl
 hun koon tlekkun'daadetlaakk.
 Kk'un' aadelt'aal. Dehoon dooḡh
 hun saakkaay ggolt'oyooz kkaa
 yeh daadletl'ee.

He walked and walked and
 walked. Again, he came to a very
 big lake. He walked across the
 lake. He could see board-snowshoe
 tracks all around. Many people had
 been walking back and forth wear-
 ing board-snowshoes. They were
 snowshoes made of birch boards
 that had been bent up at one end.
 They are called *dekenbes oyh*.
 The only lacing was near the foot.
 My late grandpa said that he had
 owned snowshoes like that.

K'etetaalkkaanee walked
 toward the lower end of the lake
 where there was an outlet, toward
 where there were still more tracks.
 He continued to walk on the lake
 toward the outlet. As he got closer,
 off to the side he saw steam rising.
 Usually, when there is a large fire,
 smoke rises. But this was different;
 when there is a slow fire, what
 comes out looks more like steam.
 Steam was extending upward from
 the house. As usual, he went up to
 the entryway, brushed off his feet,
 and entered. The fireplace had wet
 wood in it. The wood was hissing.
 There were children in the house.

Ts'uh, "Go to yuhdefne kkaa hodee?" hufnee.

"Mendon denaahudefne een en naahetaaldaatl," hednee.

"O! Go to edenk'e saakkaay edzoo nelaan de to go tlekkun'-daaneet'aa' denh?" nee gheelhee. Naa'en kk'aaghe tleeno'eedeoyo. Kk'udaa do'ooghe yuh kkun' hoolaanh. Do'oogh yuh kkun' degheel-'aan'. Ts'uh kk'udaa eeydee hedonodaalyo. Ts'uh nonl yuh tlehudengheelggut. Hudeekk'onh. Ho go t'aanh kkun' aadelt'aa' denh. Doogh saakkaay hun koon yuh hedetaalenen, edzoo aahaa. Dehoon saak'ehedetaatlilaal gheelhee. Dehoon kk'udaa kk'udaa eenaadlekooh. Kk'udaa doogh kku-naaghe ledoo. O yoogh k'ehonh gheelhee, nedaats'e ghulaa'.

Yoogh ode dehoot'aa huyel hun haantoodetaadlelohtl eetlekk. Haantoodellohtl. Huyel hande dotlee ben't'oyeh doyehts'e hun koon tleghelbaay belo nu'undaal'oy hun koon yuh denaa een honaaghededaatl. At'eeylo hebedefne kkaa.

He asked them, "Where are your parents?"

"Our parents went out hunting early this morning," they replied.

Then he said, "Gosh! Aren't the children cold? There's only wet wood in the fire." He went back outside. There was a lot of dry wood around the house.¹ He cut some of the dry wood, brought it in, and piled it on the fire. The fire started blazing, whereas the wet wood had barely been burning before. Soon the children were shivering from the cold. Their teeth began to chatter. In the meantime he had warmed up. He was sitting by the fire. He must have had something to eat.

Some time had passed when he suddenly heard the sound of water running off of something. Water was running. By the doorway, out of the *ben't'oyeh*, some people came with grayling in their mouths.² Apparently they were the parents.

1. Because the otter people burned only wet wood, dry wood was plentiful near the house.

2. Old underground houses had an area called a *ben't'oyeh* dug out on each side of the entrance to the main room. One side was used as a bathroom, and the other as a pantry. In the otter house, these areas led into the creek.

Nont go tleghelbaay huts'e he-taatldaatl. Dehoon, "Haa! Go to nedaats'e hugh saakaay hudeede-teeyh denh?" Notlee koon too neno-holtluh. Ts'uh noyeh haatodellohtl eetl'ekk. Huyel hun dotleets'e hun koon kkun' tsel yel koon kk'udaa honohodedaatl. Nont yuh kkun' zoo' huydekk'oyh de yuh eeydee tleeghoheyedaaltlaakk. Haano-kkundaadlet'aal. Haadelt'aal.

Dehoon go tleghelbaay enaa-hetlneek gheelhee. Kk'udaa go eeydee naahetaaldon'. Eeydee yen-noheendon'. Dehoon nooyoogh tl'ee k'eldlo.

Yoogh edzoo aahaa yuh naal-taanh gheelhee. Eet letaanh. Huyel hun yoogh tlede hugheelet. Yuh yenhedeeltlof go yeh daadletl'ecy kkaa t'aanh dehoon gheel bel ee-naadledaakk.

Yoogh nedaats'e noholel huyel gheel ts'aano'eedelet. Huyel kk'udaa ts'aaneelet. Haadok'eedetnee-yaa. Huneel'aanh. Huyel doogh hun k'ekkela. Ts'e hogho doogh go doogh henaaldzet yeneelenh t'aanh hu huneel'aanh. Doogh zo k'ekkel dehoon donfugh zo yuh ekee hudeelt'aa, et'ecylo yuh huk'en aahaa.

They threw down the fish and said, "Hey! Why are the children freezing?" They jumped back into the water where they had come up. He heard the water sloshing down below. They came back up with some wet wood. They piled it on top of the good wood that was burning. Once again it started to hiss.

They cooked the grayling and everyone began to eat. They ate the grayling. More were lying there.

He was so cold that he went to bed. He lay there. Before he knew it, the night had passed. He had gone to sleep listening to these people snorting with their noses.³

He did not know how much time had passed before he woke up. He woke up. The house was quiet. He looked around. Everyone was gone. He looked over at the place where he thought they should have been sleeping. The floor was all messy, apparently with their excrement.

3. Otters exhale loudly while breathing normally.

Belaazon ... go gen ghu ghulaa' go solt'en kkaa helde koon belaa-zon detnee'aa dehoon bezeye hed-nee ts'uhayaan'. Go helde ts'ohoot-tlaagge. Heylnee deheghe'en eey-daa' helde denaak'esaakkaay bekk'e detot'aa'. O yoogh beyeege hoolaanh ts'e huyel gheelhee. Denaak'esaakkaay bekk'e deto-t'aan' ts'e ts'ohoototlaagge hey-l-nee. Deheghe'en helde solt'en kkaa k'ohyeneeghee'enh. Solt'en kkaa yeghotlee'etlk'elaa. K'eelugh koon heyel detllaaghe yoogh kk'udaa kk'aahooneltaanh kk'aant'aay yaan' koon yelet delaaah go uhts'e heghe'ene.

Ts'uhu donlugh go t'aanh tle-
kkun'daaneet'aa' gheelhee. Ts'uh
kk'udaa naa'en kkun' okko tlee-
neeyo. Ts'uh kk'udaa tl'ogho yuh
hudeetkk'onh. At'eeyto bezey
enheldlaa. K'enhettlaa. Ts'uh too
nehuhungheeyoot gheelhee. Ts'e
lo go k'ekkelaa. Ts'uh go tleghel-
baay heyogho k'egheehon kkaa
gheel ts'aaneelet. Eet hudeegheel-
kk'un'. Ts'uh kk'udaa eeydee kkaa
koon kk'udaa k'ehettlaa. Ts'uh yuh
eet koon kk'udaa haanodeedeyo.

I don't know why it is, but women are not supposed to use the word *belaazone*; they say *bezeye* instead.⁴ It may be because otters have bad toilet habits. If we call an otter by its name, our children will have that problem. Also, otters have some spirit power. Our children may become like that and have bad toilet habits. That is why they kept otters away from women. Women never skinned them. That is also why women never tanned the hide until after they had stopped bearing children.⁵

K'etetaalkkaanee looked at the place where the wood had been sizzling. He went back outside to get some dry wood. Then he built a fire outside. Apparently they had turned into otters. They had been transformed and had all gone into the water. That is why no one was around. He ate the leftover grayling for breakfast and kept the fire burning for a while. Like the others, they had been transformed. Once again, he left.

4. *Belaazone* and *bezeye* are both *Denaakk'a* words for otter. *Beleazone* means "one whose hands are bad." *Bezeye* means "shiny black one."

5. Otters snort and have warts on their paws. Women feared that their children would be born with these undesirable characteristics. Children were not allowed to touch otter paws because the parents feared that they might get warts.



Tseyaa Nugh Neso
Grandpa, I Have Come to You



Kk'udaa koon yoogh ghehoł, ghehoł, ghehoł. Kk'udaa yoogh nedaats'e neenok'eedeyo. Kk'udaa koon go ede det'aanh ts'e go benh ghu kkokk'e neno'eho'. Ts'uh koon benh enodeedeyo. Huyel hun yegge hun yoonce taakk'aatl'o hun ts'elhaanh de hun hutaatl-'aanh. Ts'uh eet huts'e kkokk'e gheeyo. Ts'uh kk'udaa yugh neeghehoł. Do'o hun koon taageltlts'etl'-onh. Yugh neeneeyo. Huyel go hun tseek'aal nelaanh gheelhee ts'e go.

"Setseyaa, nugh neso," yełnee eehoo. "Setseyaa, go ees nugh neso," yełnee eehoo.

Taageltl-'etl'-onh. Edenk'e nek'e k'e'elaaghee? Kk'udaa koon, "Setseyaa, nugh neso," yełnee eehoo. "Setseyaa, nugh neso," koon yenodednee eehoo. Taageltl-'etl'-onh. "Tseyaa, nugh neso," nee dehoon yuh yeyehnaadletl'el.

He walked and walked and walked. He walked for a long time. As usual, he came to a lake and proceeded to walk across it. He came to another lake. He could see somebody standing at the upper end of the lake. He walked across the lake toward him. As he was approaching him, he saw that the person was fishing with a hook through a hole in the ice. He walked up to him. It was an old man.

And so K'etetaalkkaanee said, "Grandpa, I have come to you," but nothing happened. "Grandpa, I have come to you," he said again. Nothing happened.

The old man just continued to fish through the ice. Didn't he ever catch anything? K'etetaalkkaanee said to him again, "Grandpa, I have come to you," but to no avail. Once again, he repeated, "Grandpa, I have come to you." The old man just sat there fishing. "Grandpa, I have come to you," K'etetaalkkaanee said, and then he butted the old man with his head.

No'o yuh degge nodaadlenenh. Degge daanoneeltset. Taageltl-'etl-'onh.

Kk'udaa lo'ts'eyuh yedodendeneh. "Setseyaa, nugh neso," nee eehoo.

Kk'udaa doyooolaah. Ts'e nedaanh k'edee yuh bekonh hudetaadlenenh ts'e go yuh yegeltl kk'aa yuh taaghetsetl. Degeldle tl'ool ghū eent'uk de-hoon, "Bezo mendon yoonoogh nuhutset," nee.

Kk'udaa lo'ts'eyuh, "Tseyaa, nugh neso," nee eehoo. Yedode-naaleneek. Go eeydee helde edo-denaaleneek. Yeyel tlede eelelaa. Uhts'e heghe'en helde koon yoogh neetyel kkenaahedelghus eehoo eenh nedaats'e nooyoogh et'eghl saakkaay dent'aa eehoo k'ets'ets'e heyeneehedeelaanh. Uhts'e heghe'en helde koon, "Ont'saa yuh 'Tseyaa, Nugh Neso'" hednee.

Ts'uh doo' edeehoo' yugh haa-nodeedeyo. Yedodenaaleneek. Eet helde kk'udaa nedaats'e huden'aa' ghulaae' go koon yekk'e taalyo eet helde kk'udaa tlede gheelet bezelnee'aa.

The old man fell over, jumped back up, and started fishing through the ice again.

K'etetaalkkaanee could not get a response. "Grandpa, I have come to you," he kept saying in vain.

K'etetaalkkaanee did not know what to do, but conveniently, he got a stomachache and defecated into the water hole. Finally, the old man cleaned his line and said, "Ah, no wonder the sun rose differently this morning."

K'etetaalkkaanee said, "Grandpa, I have come to you," but he still got no response. He could not get the old man to reply. That time he got absolutely no response so he did not spend the night with him. That is why, to this day, when people are talking to each other and one of them is not listening—you know how young people are nowadays, you talk to them and they never listen—people will say of that person, "Just like 'Grandpa, I Have Come to You.'"

He left the man. He could not get any response from him. I don't even know what kind of person that man was. K'etetaalkkaanee just passed him by. That man was one with whom he did not spend the night.

Negoodzeghe
Horned Owl



Ts'uh kk'udaa yoogh ghehoł, ghehoł, ghehoł. Kk'udaa yoogh nedaats'e neenok'eedeyo. Doogh helts'en' hetsegheldaaneelo dehoon ts'ebaa laał kkaakenh te ghehoł. Huyel hunde do'ots'e hunde koon deyh bete k'edetaal'oy doteel ghehoł. "Haa! Enaa seggen'aa', kk'udaa yuh denaateltl'-eey de dogheet'aa' koon det'aanh?" deggenaa' elnee eehoo. Dehoon beyeneel'aanh dehoon tson yeneelenh kk'aant'aa. Ts'uh, "Dena zoo'," yoodnee. O, go yek'edeyh neel'aanh. Ts'uh gheel, "Ggenaa, doogh edughu ts'uhudeetolkk'oł hu tlede soleł," yetnee.

Huyel hunde yent'oyh ts'uhuya'an'.

Ts'uh, "O, go lo helaage," yoodnee. Ts'uh kk'udaa doogh neehuhdaaneetlaatl. Kkun' ghu neelk'ots'enh yeh neek'chedaalyo. Degheel kk'udaa tlede hetoleł de neehenee'ots. Go deyh bete k'edetaal'oy nont yuh ekkuneek'egheetleyh. Kk'udaa nont eeydee et'aal. Yeyel henaayh huyel hunde

He walked and walked and walked along. He had walked a long time. It was dusk and he was walking among some big spruce trees. Somebody was walking toward him, carrying some spruce grouse on a stick. K'etetaalkkaanee said to his friend, "Oh, my dear friend, how long has it been since I've seen another person?" but his friend did not answer. K'etetaalkkaanee looked at him and he appeared to be smiling. "Well, he looks friendly," K'etetaalkkaanee thought. He looked at the spruce grouse. "Well, friend, I guess we can make a fire near here and spend the night."

The man just nodded.

K'etetaalkkaanee thought, "Oh, okay, this person must not be able to speak." They cut some spruce boughs to sit on and lie on, and they made places across the fire from each other. They settled down to spend the night. They took the spruce grouse that were on the stick and put them over the

helaage ts'e yekk'aa'eelneek. Ts'uh neyenaatlneyh. Dehoon yekk'oye-neek'eelfleet, "Donts'e hun belo hukkela. Bentseyh yel benogh yel k'ehoolaanh."

Kk'udaa nonl eeydee k'eghun-let'aa'. Huyel hunde deggenaa' ts'e nonaan noyedaaneetonh. Ts'uh, "Seyaan' teghesonee? Nedaats'e hugh seeyaan' taagheson go dent'aanee," yelnee. Go k'etsetlen' haadeneelk'el. Eeydee yete'e ghe'ol.

Huyel nonl kkun' ts'e telneyh. At'eeylo kk'udaa haahaa k'ehonh ts'e gheelhee. Ts'uh go dezaay yuh yel nonaan yete'e no'eeltluh. Ts'uh go belo hootolaa' eehu yoodnee de yuh hootltsut.

"Enaa seggenaa'!" daadeyoh. Saakk aahaa yuhu notaaltset dehoon, "Enaa seggenaa' selo hootltseenh," detaalnee'. Ts'uh go naa'ts'e koon bugh yeet'aan ts'e yekk'aa'eelneegee ts'e go naa'ts'e koon yeetltsut beeznee.

My! Hun koon k'etaalhon'

1. The man ate by burning his food.

fire. The spruce grouse were roasting. K'etetaalkkaanee talked to this person, realizing that he could not speak. The man made signs to him. K'etetaalkkaanee was thinking, "That man has no mouth, although he has a nose and eyes."

The spruce grouse finished cooking, and the man passed the stick across to him. K'etetaalkkaanee said to him, "Am only I to eat? How can I eat this all by myself?" He tore off one wing with some meat and offered it to the man.

The man pointed to the fire. Apparently that was the way he ate.¹ Then K'etetaalkkaanee grabbed his knife and jumped across the fire to him and made a cut where he thought the man's mouth ought to be.

Suddenly, the man said, "Oh, my dear friend!" K'etetaalkkaanee rubbed saliva on the cut and the man said, "Oh, my dear friend made a mouth for me." K'etetaalkkaanee must have found out that the man did not have a hole in the rear either, and it is said that he made a hole for him there too.

My! The man began to eat.

et'eeylo belo hukkela. Ts'uh henaayh tuh nelaadobaan'ts'enaal-tonh dehoon ts'ehenaayh kk'aa-denee. Really yuh daats'e yuh dent'aa dehoon henaayh. Yuh belo dok'edaaltuts kk'aadenee. Uhts'e gheel hehoonaalhaak eehoo hee.

My, lo'ts'eyuh beyel yehetaal-haak. Go deyh bete k'edetaal'oy kkaa tlede hegheleet. Helts'edogho k'ehehaaneeyo. Ts'uh kk'udaa yoogh bel heenaadledaakk gheelhee.

De koon kk'udaa ts'aaneelet. Huyel go ede dehoot'aa ts'e haa-dok'edeelneeyaa. Ts'uh doogh huncel'aanh huyel genee zokk'ul dehoon yeetlkkonh. Nedaa aay'oo hun koon negoodzeghe. At'eeylo negoodzeghe laaghe gheelhee. Hun koon doldo ts'uhuya'an'. Ts'uh eet koon kk'udaa hugh haa-nozee'ots. At'eeylo koon nodenee-yee, nodeneeyee laaghe koon beeznee.

Apparently he had had no mouth before. That is why the owl talks with its lips pressed together. It really speaks like this.² It sounds as if it has something stuffed into its mouth. That is the way it speaks.

My! The man began to speak with him. They spent the night there, strengthened by the spruce hens. They talked all evening and fell asleep.

He woke up in the morning. As usual, there was no noise. He looked around and did not see anyone; it was daylight. An owl was sitting up on a tree nearby. Apparently that man had been meant to become a great horned owl. It was the only thing in the area, sitting up there on the tree. Once again, K'etetaalkkaanee left. That bird is also known as *nodeneeyee*.³

2. Catherine Attila spoke with her lips pressed together while she said this sentence.

3. *Nodeneeyee* means "the one who foretells the future." The horned owl might predict something bad by saying, "*Tegheetsaah*," "You are going to cry," or it might foretell something good by saying, "*Nek'etsaah bede tohtlgool*," "You guys will crunch the belly meat of something," which means that the person hearing it will be lucky in catching game.

Sooge
Marten



Ts'uh koon kk'udaa yoogh
ghehoł. Kk'udaa eey dehoon huyh
neets hukk'e neeholeł, neek'ohoł.
Kk'udaa huyh neets hukk'e neek'e-
neeyo. Doogh ghehoł, ghehoł.
Ts'uh doogh yoogh noo yekk'e
gheel gheholee.

Huyel hunde yoneets'e huts'e
bekk'e hunde, "Hudee---yh!
Dont'aa doogh nok'eedeoyo lonh.
Bekk'aa'uhdaal, bekk'aa'uhdaal,"
ts'edetaalne' eetl'ekk.

Ts'uh, "Hu gen soo' koon ded-
nee nedaats'e huden'aa' dednee?"
yeenaaldleen'. Ts'uh kk'udaa ho-
nodeneeyo neelot hu. Ts'uh dekk'e
hukk'e donoleyo. Lo'ts'e bekk'e
yoneets'e huts'en', yoneets'e hu-
ts'en'. Bekk'e dozołneyhtl eetl'ekk.

"Nugh ees deten hukk'e
donoleyo," ts'ednee eetl'ekk.
"Bugh dek'uhlt'ooh."

Kkunobeyedeenaalyo. Kk'udaa
eet kkunobeyedenohoł, kkunobe-
yedenohoł. "Nedaats'e hugh hoye-
neetuhlleet."

1. He is concerned that by chasing the marten, the meat will be ruined.

Once again, he was walking
along. It was almost midwinter; he
had been walking that long. He
had walked until midwinter. He
walked and walked. He was
walking through the woods.

Behind him, someone said,
"Hey! Something walked around
here. Follow it, everybody, follow
it," he heard someone say.

He thought, "What is that?
What kind of person is that?" He
walked in a big circle and came
back to where he had started.
While he was doing that, he could
hear the man following him and
talking.

He heard him say, "It came
back to its own tracks. Set a snare
for it, fellas."

The marten began following
K'tetaalkkaanee around in a
circle. He followed him and fol-
lowed him. "Don't ruin¹ it, fellas."

Doogh hun k'eelekk'enh yaan' bekk'e gheho! tonh go deten hukk'e donoleyo denh.

"Nedaats'e hugh huyeneetuh!-leet. Nugh k'eehugh bugh dek'uh-tl'ooh," ts'edetaalnee' eetl'ekk. Kk'udaa yoolaatl'tl'onh. Ts'uh yoogh ledo ts'uh kk'udaa dehoon kk'eeh' tl'otsets gheel det'aage ye-kk'e daaltleyh. Ts'uh yoogh kk'oye-daalkoode gheel k'ek'uh yedzoghe hogho neenee'onh. Dehoon yuh go dek'ek'etseghel de'aak gheel yuh denaa kk'e denloh.

"Hodee! Bekk'aano'uhdedaal," beeznee. Kk'udaa yoonets'e huts'e koon eetl'ekk. Naa'en go ede det'aanh ts'e honodeneeyo. Huyel go hunde dek'eletl'oonh. Ts'uh go kk'eeh' tl'otsets yeyee degheetleey yeyee ek'egheetleyh. Dehoon k'etleedzodze nelaanh ts'e aadeggu ts'ebaa loghe donaaído.

Kk'udaa yoonets'e huts'e nots'ot'ustl eetl'ekk. Yuh lo'ts'eyuh kk'odozaalneeyh gheelhee go ts'ehenaayh ts'en'.

Do'o hunde kk'udaa ggaabeel t'o ts'etl'taanh. "Yeey! Yaadeheye-laah. Dotoneel hey!neey go yuh

It looked as if only one person's tracks were following him when K'etetaalkkaanee came back on his own tracks.

"Don't ruin it, fellas. Set a snare for it quickly," he heard the voice say. He listened to it. Then it sounded as if it had stopped, so K'etetaalkkaanee took off his parka and stuck a rotten birch log up into it. He put into the chest area some fat that he had been carrying. He made the marten parka look like a man.

"Okay, fellas, start following it again," the voice said. Once again, K'etetaalkkaanee heard the man following him. Again, he walked in a big circle. K'etetaalkkaanee came to the snare and into it he put the parka that he had stuffed with rotten birch. Then he turned himself into a hawk owl and landed on a nearby spruce tree.

Then he heard the man coming closer. Wherever the man went, K'etetaalkkaanee could clearly hear him talking constantly.

There it was in the snare! The man said, "My goodness! Why didn't they do that in the first

huyeneehayedetaadleledee," nee. No'o bugh neets'ence'ots. Ts'uh go bedzoghe yuh ts'ehootlkk'uyh, saay aahaa. K'ek'uh neelkk'aanee-ghel. Ts'uh kk'udaa "Oho', tlaat. Tlaatlaa, tlaa nekk'aa'. Tlaa nekk'aa' dehoon kk'udaa neenuhnaayh."

Yuh tl'ogho yuh beyel kk'ots'e-denaadeggooode kk'aadnee. Denaa k'eelekk'ee yaan' eence'ee. Kk'udaa no'o lo'ts'eyuh tluhudegheetlaatl. Ts'uh go zeetolt'ee nee huyel yuh go kkunaaghe neehoneetleyh. "Tlaa gutl duhghonh, tlaa hoozoonh ts'e nekk'aa'. Nedaats'e hugh bugh enaahto," ts'ednee edeyel-nozednee gheelhee. Dehoon kk'udaa gutl laaghe kk'udaa do'ooghe dekenh kk'udaa degheef'aa'. "Gon helde k'ekkaa' bet'o tot'aalee, gon helde k'elo' gutl, gon helde k'etlee' gon helde k'eledle', gon koon k'eledle', gon helde k'etl'eele', gon koon k'etl'eele'." Kk'udaa nedaats'e neek'egheetaaleno'.

Ts'uh go gutl degghonh dehoon no'o k'etleedzodze doldoy tleedonok'endedluh. "Hee!' Enaa k'edekule k'etaagheson' yeneelen lo do'o dedneeyee?" yelnee. Et'eeylo koon udenh go deytnce.

Uhts'e heghe'en ent'aa yegge,

place? What were they doing, ruining it?" The man went over to it. He split the chest open with a knife. The fat fell apart. Then he said, "Okay, wait. Let it cool off. Let it cool off, and let's make camp."

He talked as if many people were with him, even though he was the only one there. Then the man cut a big pile of wood. Then he made places around the fire for people to sit. "Okay, fellas, now make some cooking sticks while it's cooling. There's no reason to rush things," he said, talking to himself. Then he got some sticks and began to sharpen them. "This one is going to be for cooking the foot. This stick is for the hand, this one for the head, this one for the hind leg, this one for the other hind leg, this one for the arm, and this one for the other arm." He did this for a long time.

While the man made cooking sticks, the hawk owl sat up in the tree, laughing. The man said, "Oh, that poor thing. Is it laughing because it thinks it is going to eat?" He did not realize that he was talking to K'etetaalkkaanee.

That is why people these days

"Ont's'aa k'etleedzodze k'etltaanh." Dotson' gheel eey yoogh not'uhtl te yuh eeydee kk'e donodeneel-tl'eyhtl dehoon tleedonok'endedluh kk'aadnee. Yegge ees uhts'e heghe'ene ts'ednee, go k'etleedzodze k'egheeltaa'. Ts'e go udenh koon k'eyeetltaanh. Koon tl'ee uhts'e heghe'ene. Go delk'ehoo ees k'edeeteey yeetltaanh. Tl'ogho yuh delk'ehoo yugh tleedonok'endedluh dehoon yekk'e donodeneel-tl'eyhtl. Zuhge koon yeetltaanh hednee. Go udenh dedegheene' ts'en'. Ts'uh, "Ont's'aa koon k'etleedzodze k'etltaanh," hednee. Go eet k'egheeltaa' deheghe'ene.

Yugh tleedonok'endedluh.

Kk'udaa k'ekkokk'e neelk'ots'en koonh. Kk'udaa hun k'ekonh koonh. "Gon helde k'edzaaye' gon helde k'edzaadeelo' gon helde k'ekole'one, gon helde k'eggol-dzeede'." Nedaats'e yoogh yuh ne-nots'eghenaaleyonh ts'e detlekts'e yuh gutl hute detaalghunh. Kk'udaa dehoon yuh kkunaaghe yuh hu-neenyedaaltleyh, go ts'eghuldenh.

Kk'udaa gutl degheeghonh

say, "Just like a hawk owl," when someone teases others. That is also why the raven teases the hawk owl while it flies. It swoops down over the hawk owl and makes noises like laughter. It is because of what the hawk owl did in this story. It teased someone. Other birds also tease the hawk owl because of that. The robin teases it the most. The robin will laugh at it and tease it. It will fly towards it as if to hit it and then fly off again. They say that the camp robber is another one that does that. It is the hawk owl's own fault because it teased the marten. People will say, "Just like the hawk owl that teased that person," because of the hawk owl's behavior in this story.

K'etetaalkkaanee laughed and laughed at the man.

Then the man made sticks for each side of ribs and one for the stomach too. "This is going to be for the heart, this one for the lungs, this one for the liver, and this one for the kidneys." He made sticks for every part of the body. Then he planted them all around the fireplace and got everything ready.

After he finished making the

loghune. Ts'uh, "Nedaaghe helde kk'eł neenotohdedeyhtl?" nee.

Ts'uh kk'udaa aa'en neetleehunaal-aatl. De daa'en ts'ebaa deenaatl-ghaats, eeydee baalyo. De daa'en kenee ghedetotl koon kk'udaa. Ahu koon kk'udaa hebaano'oodeetaał-dok. Hhts'e gheel go heghe'en ts'ebaa tleekk'e bugh haał ledlo hee. Naa'en ts'ebaa yedeenaatlghaadze koon baalyo. Kk'udaa kk'aaghe ehu koon neelloy nenoltlek. Ts'uh no'o kkunaaghe neenoltlek.

Ts'uh, "Hodee, kk'udaa?" Kk'udaa tson' kk'aateey koon hoo-dletseenh. "Oho', kk'udaa nu'uhł-uhł kk'udaa neenuht'ot." Kk'udaa naangge bugh neenots'eet'ots. Go yuh ts'etlkk'uyh ts'e yuh dent'aa go k'ekuh. Eet donle kk'udaa benolozaadleleyh. Go kk'udaa benolełdeetaaghtlkeł beeznee dehughuunh. Hun koon kk'eeyh tl'otsets neelkk'aaneegehł. Yeneel-aanh, yeneel'aanh. Go hun kk'eeyh tl'otsets yaan' beyee kkokk'e deghee'o. Hedodegheetset. "Hmh! Hmh!" detaalne'. Notlen go hudeetokk'ot denh neenots'eet'ots.

sticks, he said, "Where are you fellas going to relieve yourselves?"

Then he broke a trail over to a spruce tree. He knocked down the spruce tree and walked its length on top of it. Then he jumped into the snow and rolled around. Then he jumped back on the spruce tree and began to walk back and forth on it. That is why people set traps for marten on spruce trees that have fallen. He knocked down another spruce tree and walked to the end of it. Then he began to go back and forth from tree to tree. He came back to the fireplace.²

Then he said, "Okay, fellas, are you ready?" The toilet had been made. "Okay, fellas, butcher what we caught. Cut it up now." The chest was cut in half, and the fat was visible. He went back over to it. He thrust the knife deep into it and cut downwards towards the stomach in order to skin it. He cut into it and the rotten birch fell apart in two pieces. He looked and looked at it. The only thing in the parka was a rotten birch log. He stopped talking. Then he started saying "Hmh! Hmh!" Quietly, he walked back over to the fireplace.

2. He had knocked down the trees to make a path across the snow to the toilet. The place where he rolled in the snow was the toilet.

Eet ts'uhunee'aanh. Huyel nonle
haakkun'zaaneetleyh.

Doogh, "Yee! Nedaanh henaaghe-
doodeneeyh?" nee. Go helde
koon yegge donle' bet'o yoot'aal
edeenh daa', go k'enuhudeetode-
dlook, k'edeeteey gheelhee. De-
he'en gheel go ghulaa', "Yee!
Nedaadenh henaaghdoodeneeyh?"
nee dehoon denaan' aahudenee-
t'ottl. Saakk aahaa yuhu notaaltset
dehoon neeyeeneedzenh. Ts'uh
kk'udaa gutl degghenaalt'aa' ts'e
detlekts'e huloghe hute yeghe-
naaltlt'aa'. Dehoon kk'udaa nonle
yuh hudeekk'onh.

Kk'udaa, "Haa'! Haa'!" detaal-
nee'. "Hudokk'ot eett'ekk! Hudo-
kk'ot eett'ekk!" Kkun' tel' notaadle-
tlek. Kkun' tel' notaadletlek. Huyel
gutl k'eelekk'ee beyekk'e daadle-
dok. Hukk'aay taadletluh. Ts'uh
gutl gho eeltluh, eeydee bugh daal-
gok. Naa'en hunde koon sooge
deydle kuh haadeeltluh. Naa'en
go ts'ebaa tleekk'e neelloy neghel-
tlek hu daa'en t'aanh haadeel tluh.

He looked at it. Then he lit the
fire.

He said, "Oh dear! Where can
we cut off a piece of ourselves
next?" He said that because if he
were to leave the sticks there
without cooking anything on
them, there would be too much
starvation in the future. Saying,
"Yee! Where can we cut off a piece
of ourselves next?" he cut a piece
of meat from his own face. He
rubbed with saliva the place from
which he had cut the piece, and it
healed. Then he diced the piece
he had cut off. He put a piece on
each cooking stick. The fire began
to blaze while he did that.

Then he said, "Listen! Listen!
A forest fire is coming! A forest
fire is coming!" He began to jump
back and forth over the fire. He
jumped back and forth over it.
Suddenly, he was pierced by one
of the cooking sticks. He landed
short and was impaled on it. A big
male marten left that place. It
took off, running on the trees upon
which the man had walked back
and forth.

Neltseel
Wolverine



Ts'uh kk'udaa yoogh koon
 ghehoł, ghehoł, ghehoł. Kk'udaa
 nedaats'e neenok'eedeyo. Huyel
 hun doogh hun ts'eneeno lonh.
 Doogh ehu denaa kk'e taalyo.
 Doogh ehu ghehoł. Huyel go hun
 ggaagge kkenh ghedetlaatl lonh.
 Ts'uh go eet huneeł'aaanh. O yoogh
 k'etlekk'aa gheel baabe okko hu-
 neeł'anee. Ts'uhu doogh zeeyuh
 eet lehaanh dehoon doogh huneeł-
 'aaanh. Nedaa do'o hun yuh nel-
 tseel ghoo' kkenh kk'e dol'onh.

"Hudaa! Koon dogheet'aa'ee?"
 yeneelenh. "O, go to eeydee go
 kkenh gheetlaadlee taalilaatl eehu
 łonee," yeneelenh. Ts'uh yoolneek.
 Ts'uh yoogh dehaallel yee yeghee-
 'onh. Ts'uh doogh ehu ghehoł.
 Ts'eneeno lonh hu ghehoł.

Huyel donł hun kk'udaa hudaal-
 kk'un'. Ts'uh gheel kk'udaa eet
 kkun' gho neeyo. Doogh neeneeyo.
 Ts'uh et'eeyto go hun bedenaa' kkaa
 lonh. Solt'en kkaa koonh yeh daa-
 dletł'ee. Eet gheel hedoneeyo hee.
 Yoogh kkun' aaneeyo gheelhee.

Once again, he walked and
 walked and walked. He had been
 walking for a long time again. He
 came upon a trail that looked as if
 people had been moving on it. He
 began to follow the people. He
 walked on their trail. Then he
 came to a place where someone
 had been chopping on a beaver
 lodge. He looked at it. He might
 have been hungry and looking for
 food. He stood there and looked
 around. There was a wolverine's
 tooth lying on the lodge.

He thought, "Hmm, I wonder
 where that came from." Then he
 thought, "Oh, maybe he was the
 one who started to chop the beaver
 lodge, then quit." He took the tooth
 and put it in his pack. He followed
 the trail. He kept following the trail
 on which the people had traveled.

Then he saw a fire up ahead,
 and he went to the camp. He stopped
 there. It was a family with many
 children. Some women were also
 staying there. He entered the house
 and sat down by the fire.

Huyel hun, "Nugh neeyonenh oho k'eno'ohneyhtl!" ts'ednee. Kk'udaa nonle solt'en kkaa baabe ghu kk'otaaleneek.

Dehoon go solt'aanh k'eele-
kk'enh gheel, "Yeey! Yuhtsey
ent'aa nugh betlaatileel ehoolne-
ghee," nee. "Yendenaa'eeldleen'
ent'aa nughunee," ts'ednee.

Kk'udaa heyek'egheelon'.
Et'eeylo debedetaaghsnee' yelnee
dehugh go, "Neeyonenh oho
k'eno'ohneyhtl," nee go denaa.

Kk'udaa k'egheehon'. Ts'e
dough ledoo.

Huyel hun, "Dotoneel go nee-
ts'e tlaatileel ent'aa go seyel behool-
neghee. Baadenh dohutoneelee?"
nee koon kk'udaa, udenh.

Huyel hun, "Haa! Duhudnee
denh. Hmn! Dzaan eneets'e ghesol
de go hun kkenh ghedetlaatl tonh.
Go hun eet neltseel ghoo' dol'onh."

Kk'udaa, "Hu! Adenk'e see lo
nugh yeh detseelee sefnee? See

The man said, "Cook something
for the visitor!" Then the women
began to cook.

One of the women said, "Your
grandpa there just broke his axe.
That person will starve us," she
said.¹

They fed him and he ate. The
man wanted to ask a favor of him
and that is the reason he had said,
"Cook something for the visitor."

K'etetaalkkaanee ate and sat
around.

"What are we going to do about
this axe that's been in the family
so long? It broke on me. What are
we going to do without it?" the man
asked.

"Oh! Now that you mention it,
when I was walking today, I came
upon a beaver lodge that someone
had been chopping on. I found a
wolverine tooth there."

"Hm! Is it me that he is calling
'the one who messes his bed and

1. The woman was speaking indirectly of "Grandpa," her husband. She meant that because he could not hunt, he could not provide food for his family. The women in this story are the Wolverine Man's wives.

ent'aa eey neelneeggude yoo ghu
tlen tleehoonltitluh. Go baabe aa-
haa yuh hebetlen haa kk'e dehoo-
t'aa hulnee ts'e gheelhee. Go
hutaadle'o ts'e solt'en ek'etlonh
nee ts'en'. De daa'en dodnee
ghulaa'.

"E! Hunedaats'e go helde de-
haasnee. Kk'udaa yuh k'etlekk'aa
seyel hoot'aan denh," koon nodednee.
Ts'uh kk'udaa yetl'onoyeghee'onh
loghune.

Ts'uh kk'udaa, "Tlaa tlaa zo
dotoneel? Tlaa nugh zee eeten-
gheel'aan," beeznee.

"Oho', go see zo dotaaghsleel
duhughunh? Hu nedaats'e hogho
desehednee. Nelten
dukk'ughun'esluk de ent'aa gonh,"
nee. Go saahooltso' nee ts'en'.

"Hu! Ts'e zo dotoneel? O tlaa

clothing?"² I am the person who
keeps the path from the door of my
wives' house yellow." What he
meant was that he provided for his
wives so well that the path was
yellow with grease. That was his
way of saying that he fed his wives
well. He said more after that.

K'etetaalkkaanee said, "Oh!
What am I talking about? I'm not
myself because I'm hungry." He
gave the tooth to the man.

The man said, "What good is it
to me like this? Why don't you just
look at it, even if you might not be
able to fix it?"

"Okay, but I don't know how I
can fix it if you can't. I'm the person
known for snapping the thunder
with a snare," K'etetaalkkaanee
said. That was his way of saying
that he was too strong to work on a
small thing such as the wolverine's
axe.³

"Well, what good is it to me

2. The word for wolverine, *neltseel*, sounds like the word *nedetseel*, which means "he has continuous diarrhea." In general, it is considered disrespectful to refer to a powerful animal by its name, so circumlocutions are often used. Nowadays, a wolverine is usually called *doyonh* "chief" or, by women, *t'onyee* "parka border trimming."

3. K'etetaalkkaanee was teasing the wolverine man. He acted humble by saying that he did not know how to fix the tooth, but he also bragged about his strength and power. When he said that he broke the thunder with a snare, he meant that he was clumsy but very strong.

zee neen'aaanh," beeznee. Kk'adaa nonce yugh neeneeyo. Ts'uh kk'adaa yenee'aaanh.

Ts'uh yugh neenoyeeneetonh kk'e deyeeloh. Dehoon tl'ogho yuh yaalk'engheeluk. Ts'uh yuh yenaaldluyh. Soohoonaney.

Huyel hun, "Hu! Hugen yet deyeeloh eehu? Neelghu noydaaldoh deyeelenh?" yetnee.

Ts'uh kk'adaa koon yuh yedaatldool dehoon neelloy noydegheeyel. Ede degheet'aa' ts'e denoyeeloh.

"Baasee' enaa baasee'! Daade-yetolcel beesnee duhugh gheel go dosneehee," detaalnee'.

Kk'adaa go eet koon lo'ts'eyuh hoozonh ts'e tlede gheellet, go k'enaaldon' ts'en'. Ts'uh eet helde neltseel eldlaat gheelhee. Bedelnee'aa. Nedaanh ghulaa' neltseel eldlaat eehu. Go edeyuh eeydee nelaanh ts'e haadeeyo or doogh zo eeydee eenh go eet helde

like this? Look at it anyway," the man replied. K'etetaalkkaanee went back to him and looked at it.

K'etetaalkkaanee put it back in place. He wrapped a string around it very tightly and broke the tooth—on purpose, of course.

The man said, "Hey! It must have taken a lot of power to do that! How about using that power to fuse it back together?" the man said to him.⁴

Then K'etetaalkkaanee blew strongly on it and mended it. It was as if it had never been broken.

"Thank you, thank you very much! I knew he could do it; that is why I asked him," the man said.

Then K'etetaalkkaanee spent a good night with them and filled himself with food. The man must have become a wolverine, but the story does not say that. I don't know when he became a wolverine. All the others had always become animals and left, but it

4. When K'etetaalkkaanee broke the tooth, he was showing off. The wolverine man knew K'etetaalkkaanee had done it with medicine power.

ghulaa'. Ts'uh neltseel zaa'en ne-
laanh. Ts'uh kk'udaa go eeydee
kkaa koon ghu haanodeedeyo.

does not say that here. He was a
wolverine, though. Then
K'etetaalkkaanee left once again.

Behookkaay Denaa
Shovel Man



Ts'uh yoogh koon kk'udaa
 gheho!, gheho!, gheho!. Huyel hun
 doogh hun denaa kk'e hoolaanh.
 Ts'uh chu gheho!. Doogh hun ten
 gheelhee. Do'o hun yeh hoolaanh.
 Ts'uh gheel eet koon kk'udaa
 hedoneeyo. Huyel doogh hun yeh
 denaa kkela. Doogh yeh led. Do.
 Donle neelts'e henohaak'eghede-
 taaldlo.

Eet led. Huyel hun nots'ot'ustl
 eetlekk. Helts'en' huyel hudegaal
 nots'eet'ots eetlekk. Huyel doduh-
 ts'e hun haal lel huy ghehls'ok.
 Ts'uh yoolneek. Dehoon gheel
 yeneel'celaa. Go denaa neel'celaa.

Gguh gheelhee, gen cehu, go
 hun baabe beyeet. Ts'uh eeydee
 gheel nonl enodetaadleneek. De-
 hoon doduggu kkuno hutleekk'e
 dots'el'ots go haal lel huy
 ts'egheeltonh denh, huts'e hun:

"Debaa sekkunkk'aa neeyo hee?
 Debaa sekkunkk'aa neeyo hee?"

Again, he walked and walked
 and walked. He came upon some-
 one's tracks and he followed
 them. He was walking on a path.
 He came to a house and went
 inside. No one was home. He
 stayed in the house. He stoked
 the fire and got it going again.

He was sitting in the house
 when he heard someone coming
 home. It was evening when he
 finally heard someone come home.
 Someone handed a backpack down
 through the smoke hole, so he
 took it. He could not see the other
 person. He did not see the man.

In the pack were some rabbits
 or some other kind of food. He
 started to cook them for himself.
 The man up on the roof began to
 sing after he handed down the
 backpack:

"Who came in my absence?
 Who came in my absence?"

Tlaa hedodetoneyhdee. Kk'udaa k'enodaadloneek. K'egheehon'. Doduggu huts'e, "Debaa sekkun-kk'aa neeyo hee? Debaa sekkun-kk'aa neeyo hee?" Kk'udaa hun koon helts'edogho dohudaaneel-neek. Kk'udaa hun koon tlede dohudoñeyhtl. Dehoon gheel nel-gedee ts'uh gheel tlee'eeloyaa gheelhee. Huyet gheel kk'udaa hun yuh bet ooteneeldaah eehu.

Ts'uh, "Hudee—yh! Deyeh hedonotodol ts'e haahaa dont'aay doduggu dedaadeyogh? Doogh ees neyeh hoolaanh," nee.

Hedodegheetset. Dehoot'aa. No'o doyegge huts'e nok'olgok eetl'ekk.

Degheel kk'udaa yuh bet eenaadledaakk. Go bet ede needo-zaaneeltaanh ts'uh. Kk'udaa yoogh kk'udaa koon tlede bet k'enoltenh gheelhee. Ts'e koon kk'udaa ts'aa-neelet. "Haa! Hot'aanh denh," yeneelenh. Ts'uh gheel degge daats'eneelneek. Donts'e zo t'lee go bek'ek'el ledlo.

Ts'uh gheel naa'en tleetaalyo. Do'o huts'e go nots'olgok eetl'ekk

The man never stopped singing. K'etetaalkkaanee cooked for himself and ate. That man was still singing "Who came in my absence? Who came in my absence?" The entire evening passed and he was still up there. He stayed up there singing in the middle of the night. Maybe K'etetaalkkaanee was afraid, because he never went outside. He went to bed and tried in vain to go to sleep.

Finally, K'etetaalkkaanee said, "Hey! What's the matter with him? Can't he even enter his own house? This is your own house!" K'etetaalkkaanee said gruffly.

The man stopped singing. It was quiet. Then he heard something slide off the roof.

K'etetaalkkaanee must have fallen asleep after that. He had not slept until then. He slept the whole night through. Then he woke up and thought, "Oh yes! I remember." He got up. The man's bedding was still rolled up across the room, unused.

K'etetaalkkaanee went outside and went over to the place where

t'aanh denh. Do'o hun koon behookkaay haanaaneetonh. Behookkaay naaghelgok lonh. At'eeylo behookkaay denaa. O ts'uh kk'udaa hedonots'eet'ots. Ts'uh koon nok'ets'odon' gheelhee. Ts'uh eet koon kk'udaa haanozeet'ots.

he had heard something slide off the roof. Lying against the wall was a wooden shovel. The shovel had slid off the roof. Apparently that man had been a shovel man. K'etetaalkkaanee went back inside and ate one more time. Then, once again, he left.

K'etleedzode
Hawk Owl



Ts'uh kk'udaa yoogh gheho!,
gheho!, gheho!. Kk'udaa koon
yoogh nedaats'e neenok'odo!. Hu
gheel kk'udaa go hun solt'aanh
yaan' saakkaay yet ledó de koon
kk'udaa neeyo. Go ede det'aanh
ts'e laaldoy neeneeyo de dekkaa'
de!ghe!. Ts'uh kk'udaa hedoneeyo.

Huyel go hunde solt'aanh yaan'
yeh ledó denh. Bedenaa' kkaa
koonh tohne beyel yeh daadlet!ee.
"Go to do'cent'aa?" beeznee go
solt'aanh.

"O mendon t'aanh hebeto'
hebugh en notaa!eyo," yetnee.
"Nonaan nooyee t'aanh en notaa-
!eyo," nee.

"O! Oho!," yetnee.

Ts'e doogh o yek'egheelon'
gheelhee. Ts'e doogh hedaadlet!ee.
Huyel hun yoogh tleenogguyhhel-
deyh!l, go saakkaaye. Huyel hunde
k'eelekk'enh hun hedono'celtluh.

"Eenaa, nonaan nooyee huts'e
cetaa' ezel cetl'ekk!" nee.

He walked and walked and
walked. He walked for a long
time. He came upon a place where
a woman was living with her
children. As usual, he went up to
the entryway, brushed off his
feet, and went inside.

He saw that the woman was
home. Three children were home
with her. He asked the woman,
"How are you? Why are you home
alone?"

"Oh, this morning their father
went hunting. He went hunting
again," she told him. "He went
hunting in the woods across
there," she said.

"Oh, okay," he replied.

Then she fed him. They were
sitting around. The children kept
running outside. Suddenly, one of
the children rushed back inside.

"Mom, we heard dad yelling in
the woods across there!" the child
said.

"Dodnee ts'en?" yelnee.

"What was he saying?" she asked him.

"Nooyee nosek'edetaalegges! nee eetl'ekk."

"We heard him say, 'Something is dragging me into the woods!'"

Naa'en tleehuhunaaneelyoot gheelhee. K'ehoolaatlil'onh. Huyel hunde, "Degonaa! Degonaa! Dego nooyee nosek'edetaalegges!" ts'ednee eetl'ekk, bekkun' hun nee eetl'ekk.

Everyone rushed outside and listened. She heard her husband say, "Help! Help! Something is dragging me into the woods!"

Ts'uh gheel, "Benodeeneeyh! Benodeeneeyh!" nee ts'e taalzeet. Lo'ts'eyuh go doghunaah gheelhee dehoon gheel bendohdeefyonee dont'aa ghulaa'. Go yuh nee'oo-naaneefneeyaa koonh. Kk'udaa t'aanh.

She started shouting, "Let it go! Let it go!" In the meantime, I guess, K'etetaalkkaanee just observed what was happening. He did not even try to help. Then they heard nothing more.

Huyel hun, "Sednaa', yuhto' kk'aa uhdaat. Go ees tl'ok," hutnee. Go nedaanh k'edee kk'udaa neek'edaaneelet. Ts'e go tl'ok hutugh etldaatl. O go k'etlekk'aa. Nonaan t'aanh. Ts'uh hedeto' kk'e hodef. Huyel doogh hun lekkone. Ts'uh heyegheehon'.

After a while, she said to the children, "My children, go after your dad. Here's a dish." How presumptuous of her! What if he had not caught anything? She gave each of them a dish. Well, I guess they were hungry. They all went across a river or lake and into the woods. They followed their father. They saw some blood on the trail and ate it.

Ts'e yoogh dehoot'aa. Dednaa' kkaa yel no'eedeyo. Huyel hun

Some time passed. The man came home with his children. His

lo'ts'eyuh denaaggaade aalekkondeelenh. Ts'uh neets'enaaneek'e'l lonh ts'e gheel nots'eet'ots. Ded-naa' kkaa ye'l no'eedeoyo. K'ek'uh yoze no'eet'onh. At'eeylo gguh tl'etlt'o yeyel honotlaatileldegheelenee.

Go betl'etlt'o gheel eey go k'e-k'uh heneetonh. Ts'uh eeydee ye'l honotlaatileldegheelenh. At'eeylo gguh ggoken ghu tlaatilel daaneelenh. Go ye'ooneelaa' denh.

Eende nobeytaalegges go de-tlaatilel ootunh dehoonh. Ts'uh kk'ok'eyeeggaas dehoon ent'aa go, "Gonaa!" nee. "Go nooyee nose-k'edetaalegges!" nee. Ts'uh be'ot yugh deyenee'e'l'aanh ts'uh, "Benodeeneeyh!" ye'nee. Ts'uh go de-tlaatilel gheel hono'oonee'o'. Go yaadenh dotoneel eenhdenh. O bedo' gheelhee hono'oonee'o'. Huyel hun gguh tl'etlt'o huk'uh ye'l honoyedegheelenh. Ts'uhu-kk'aatugh gheel go gguh koon beggoken dezet. Go hugh tlaatilel daalnenh denh.

Ts'uh kk'udaa go k'ek'uh doogh gheel neets'enee'onee. Ts'e go koon ehu donaah. Ts'e go

forehead was bleeding. He came home with his face all scratched up. He returned with his children and brought home a little piece of fat. Apparently he had thrown an axe into the rabbit's shoulder blade, and it got stuck.

You know how there is a layer of fat between the shoulder blades. He threw the axe through its shoulder blade while hunting it. When he pulled his axe free, the fat came out on it.

The rabbit began to drag him while he held on to the axe. It was when he was being dragged around that he yelled. He yelled, "Something is dragging me back into the woods!" That's when his wife became worried and told him, "Let it go!" Then he tried to free his axe because he could not make a living without it. Maybe it was his beak.¹ When it finally came out, there was some fat on it from between the shoulder blades. That is why the rabbit has a hole on its shoulder blade to this day. It is where the axe went through.

The man put the fat down somewhere. I don't know what K'etetaalkkaanee was doing

1. In stories, a bird person's axe becomes its beak when the person is transformed into a bird.

yekk'aadeel'aatl. Huyel bekkaa-
tl'ohheyetl'eh, go K'etetaal-
kkaanee. Nonts'e letaanh dehoon
neelkk'e dokkaak'eghaaldlo.

"Heen', denaaghu ts'enee'ots
de ho nugh k'ek'uh yel nok'enee-
dlut," ts'ednee. Doogh neets'enee-
'onh beeznee hu yokko hoonaatl-
'aan'. Huyel bekkelaa. Doogh
hunee'aanh eehoo.

"Ho nugh neens'onh denh,"
ts'ednee.

Huyel go yeggenhyoze k'eele-
kk'ee gheel hun, "Eenaa, nugh ees
neeyonenh kkaatl'oh he'etl'eh,"
yelnee.

Oh my! Ts'uh gheel eet gheel
noyoolneek, go k'ek'uh yozee.

"Hu seyel hot'aanh... Go lo
nedaats'e detl'aanee," nee gheel-
hee. Go k'ek'uh yozee.

Ts'uh kk'udaa nonf noyeenaal-
dlut. Hun koon yuh deneeltots. Uh-
ts'e gheel go heghe'ene nonaaldlo-
de zoo' edetugh noltsee yuh tl'o-
gho yuh deneeltus beeznee. Nonf
hun koon yuh k'uhgaal tl'ok dugh
denoltots gheelhee go nonaaldlode.
Kk'udaa eeydee naa'etltseenh.

around there, but he stepped on the
fat, and it stuck to the bottom of his
foot. He went across the room and
lay down with his legs crossed.

The man said, "Honey, we have
a visitor. Why don't you make some
ice cream with that fat?" She
began to look for the fat where he
said he had put it. It was gone. She
looked for it in vain.

"I put it right there," the man
said.

Then one of the children said,
"Mom! It's stuck to the bottom of
the visitor's foot."

Oh my! She must have taken
back that little bit of fat.

K'etetaalkkaanee said, "Ah,
I'm just not myself. How could I
have done that?" There was just a
little piece of fat.

The woman began to make ice
cream with it. Soon it rose and
became large. That is why Indian
ice cream increases in volume if it is
made correctly. The ice cream
became so big that it almost rose
above the sides of the pan. She
made it.

Dehoon hun saakkaay hun
aanhudaadlenenh. Yuh heldlo.
Haabaanhudaadlenenh.

"Nugh ees nedena' kkaa
aanhudaadlenenh," nee gheelhee
go solt'aanh.

Ts'uh, "Yeey! Daahedeyoh
ts'en'?"

"Ghulaaa'!" "Doh't'aa?" hebeez-
nee.

Huyet, "O yuh yenk'ets'ence-
don' kk'e dehoot'aa," hednee
gheelhee.

Ts'e gheel go ghulaa', "Genee
ohhon'?" hebaanh hebelnee.

Huyet, "K'elekk'aatlene'
ts'egheehon'," hednee. Go helde
k'elekk'aat.

Ts'uhu, "Yeey! Enaa sedena'
kkaa, ho nonaan huk'e ggaasek'e-
ghedeetenghee'ok hu kk'ohetedaatl
denh," hu'nee. Belkkon heghee-
hon' ts'e huk'aa'eelneek. Ts'uh
kk'udaa, "Heen', ho no'o beyet-
naalsyon hebugh hedononeelyaa
haa'. Tlaa zeet," ts'ednee.

Meanwhile, the children had
all become ill. They were lying
around, sick. All of them were ill.

"Your children have become
sick," the woman said.

He said, "Oh my! What
happened to them?"

"I don't know!" "How do you
feel?" she asked them.

"We feel as if we have eaten
too much, they replied."

Their mother asked them,
"What did you eat?"

"We ate the blood of the game
that had been caught," they
answered. It was at the kill site.

The man said, "Oh! my dear
children, they went across where I
was dragged and my forehead was
scraped." He realized that they
had eaten his blood. "Honey, go
outside and bring in the thing
with which I have been raised,
even though it may be to no
avail," the man said.²

2. The phrase "the thing with which I was raised" refers to some mice feet he inherited, probably from his father.

Kk'udaa naa'en t'aanh go soł-t'aanh tleetaalyo. Ts'e yoogh de-hoot'aa. Huyel hun do'ots'e deel-tsaa' kkaa' nelenlekel ggun nelelekel hun hedonots'eelyo. Ts'uh go dekkun' tl'oyegheelo. K'eefekk'e heelaanh ts'e yeggedenh koonh tl'etlt'o heyldetl. O yoogh eey dehoon gheel dohudnee ghulaa'.

Ts'e yoogh ode dehoot'aa. Huyel yenkoheetaalekkooyh. Yenkoheedekkuyh. Huyel hun doheel-t'aa'aa. At'eeylo hedeto' lekkon eenee' hegheehon aahaa hebaanhudaadlenenh.

Ts'uh kk'udaa eet tlede hugheel. Kk'udaa go saakkaay doheel-t'aa'e ts'e denaahedeyoh. O ts'uh gheel k'enhettlaadee. Eet helde koon uhts'e beyel ts'eseneegaa. Go k'etleedzodze beeznee ts'e huyaanh beyel eseneyh. O ts'uh gheel k'enhettlaadee.

The woman went outside. Some time passed. Then she came back in carrying some dried mice feet that were tied together.³ She gave them to her husband. He hit each child on the back of the neck with them. He probably said something at the same time.

Some time passed. Then the children started to vomit. They all vomited. Then they were better. Apparently they had become sick by mistakenly eating their father's blood.

The children became well and the night passed. Then they must have all been transformed, but I don't know. The story is called the hawk owl story, so they must have been transformed.

3. The mice feet have medicine power.

Delo' Ghæ Noledoyee
The One Married to
His Own Hand



Go koon tl'ee helde heghe'en
ggotl'oyooze ts'edetaalnee ts'en'.
Go yeggenhyoze et'eghl behoo-
laan, kkaa saakkaay yoze hednee
tuh ggotl'oyooze.

Yoogh gheho!, gheho!, gheho!.
Huyel kk'udaa yoogh koon hudaal-
kk'un' de neeyo. Ts'uh hedoneeyo.
Huyel go hun denaa ledoo. Dehoo
ggotl'oyooze kkaa yeh huts'e
aa'eelneek. Go et'eeylo bedenaa'
kkaa. Go gguh kaadzode gheel go
gguh let tl'oyooze. Ho yoogh
beghotleets'elk'eyhtl te gheel eey
bekaadzode bets'e le'on haaf baabe
laaghe. Helde koon yoogh dekenh
aaheyooghenelteeyh. Go helde
kaaghozen koonh go eeydee
k'edeeteeyo' yeyel ootololaa. Sooge
koonh. Heydegheenee' de
heghe'en heyeyel haaf gheel'o'.

Eeydee kkaa yeggenhyoze
kkaa hunde yuh yeh huts'e aa'eel-
neek. Ts'uh kk'udaa go beggenaa'
k'enaatleeneek. Ts'uh kk'udaa

This is a story about why we call
a newborn baby *ggotl'oyooze*.
Whenever a new baby is born, they
call it "*Ggotl'oyooze*."¹

He walked and walked and
walked. Then he came upon a place
where there was fire, another
home. He went inside. A man was
living there. There were a lot of
babies in the house. Evidently they
were his children. The stubby tail
of the rabbit is called *gguh lit tl'o
yooze*. When we skin a rabbit,
we usually leave the fur on the
tail, using it for trap bait. The tail
and fur are twisted around a stick
and frozen. Small game animals
like it, especially weasels, and
martens too. This is what they
used to say. They used to use it for
trap bait.

There were a lot of these
children in the house. His friend
cooked. Then he began to eat. Then
he served food to all of the rabbit

1. *Ggotl'oyooze* is apparently a contraction of the words *gguh lit tl'o yooze*, meaning "little rabbit-skin, little buttocks," perhaps because rabbit skin was occasionally used as baby diapers.

k'etaalhon'. Huyel go ggohtl'o-yooze kkaa te k'etaatlkoot. Ts'uh kk'udaa nonl dehoon edeyel naa-hedaayh kk'aadnee. Yuh de'ot yet henaayh kk'aadnee. At'eeylo genee go Delo' Ghu Noledoyee beeznee.

Kk'udaa yoogh go k'egheehon'. Ts'uh naaltaanh. Huyel nonts'e huts'e solt'aanh yet henaayh kk'aadnee. Huyel hun solt'aanh aak'chooneellet kk'e dehudnee. Ts'uh doogh nohunle'ceyh gheel-hee. Huyel denaagheneede kk'aant'aay nonts'e hun koon den-loggeze huts'enh hun gguh lel tl'oyooze yet gheneyhtl. At'eeylo k'enohootaaldlaan'. At'eeylo delo' ghu noledo. Ts'uh hun koon yuh ggohtl'oyooze taalkk'oyh. At'eeylo k'choolaanh.

Ts'uh eet kk'odon koon kk'udaa ts'aaneelet. Ts'uh beggenaa' yenok'egheehon'. Dehoon lo'ts'e-yuh ggohtl'oyooz kkaa yuh yeh huts'e aa'eelneek. Ts'uh eet koon kk'udaa haanodeedeyo. Yefnee ts'e huyaanh' koon kk'udaa yugh nohol-nek go Grandpa gheelaa'ee.

tails. While doing this, he was talking—to himself, it seemed. He sounded like somebody talking to his wife. I don't know what he was, but he is called "The One Married to His Own Hand."

K'etetaalkkaanee ate and went to bed. He could hear the man across the room talking, as if to a woman. Then he heard what sounded like a woman in labor, so he peeked over at him now and then. Then, like the devil,² across the room the man was pulling something that looked like a rabbit tail from between his fingers. A birth was taking place. Evidently this man was married to his own hand. Soon a newborn ggohtl'oyooze began to cry very loudly. It had been born.

K'etetaalkkaanee woke up the next morning and his friend fed him. Many ggohtl'oyooze were in the house. Then he left. That was as much as my Grandpa used to say about it.

2. The Koyukon word *denaagheneede* is translated here as "like the devil." It is a mild curse and refers to a being who takes people's lives.

Neełkk'aa Oyht'aan
The One With Snowshoes
Bent up on Both Ends



Go kk'udaa huydo k'egheeyo.
Kk'udaa hun sonot dzaan nodeel-
lot. Kk'udaa hun dzaanh dzaa-
neets daa'en nohulgheeyh. Tledaaf
te nohudeteeyh. Ts'uh kk'odehun'
te tleehuloo kkokk'e ghehoi.

Dzaaneets daa'en koon kk'udaa
noholghaanh dehoon noozaah no-
tluhtl, oyh yeet. Huyel hun doogh
hun ts'ence'ots lonh. Ts'uh yekk'e
hunee'aaanh. Doogh hunde denaa-
kk'e hoolaanh oyh yee. Huyel hun
nedaats'ets'e ghulaa'.

Neelkk'aats'e yuh eenaadleyo
go oyh ts'uhkk'e dent'aa. At'eeylo
lo koon Neelkk'aa Oyht'aan.
Neelkk'aats'e oyh eenaadleley yee
kk'o'eedoyenh. Yoogh udeek'e en
kk'o'eedoyh gheelhee. Huyel hun
yaats'ets'e koon neenaa'edoyh.
Eenh nedeenh, yaats'ets'e koonh.
Go bekk'e taaghsol yetnee dehugh
gheelhee. Go yekk'e hehootlyokk.
Kk'udaa yaats'ets'e koon nee-
naa'edoyh. Ts'uh uhts'ets'e koon

He had been walking all winter.
It was early in the spring and the
days were long. The snow was
thawing in the afternoons and
freezing at night. He was able to
walk on the crust in the mornings.

It was in the afternoon, and he
was walking through the wet
snow in snowshoes. He came upon
a place where someone had been.
He looked at the tracks. They
were snowshoe tracks, but he could
not figure out which way the man
had gone.

It looked as if the snowshoes
were bent up at both ends. The
person who made the tracks is
called *Neelkk'aa Oyht'aan*.¹ The
tracks had been left by a person
who had been walking around in
snowshoes like that. He must
have been out hunting. K'etetaal-
kkaanee followed the tracks
one way and then turned around
and followed them the other
way. He tried to decide which

1. The One with Snowshoes Bent Up on Both Ends.

hunce'aanh. Ts'uh go doyuggu
ten huyaanh' hunc'e'aanh.

Dehoon "Hu! Nedaats'e hugh
sekk'e hughok'eneedlooh?" bezaa-
deyoh.

Ts'uh neek'otleedaalnenh.
Huyel go hun koon bugh neets'o-
'ustl. Huyel hunde, "Haa! Hu
k'egheetaaghsdlukk zo lo koonh.
Kk'udaa yuh seholl' denh baabe
kk'aat," nee.

"Hmh! O tlaa eey dedeenee ts'e
hogho yegge no'ots'e nonseyo hu
daa'en sekk'e teehoyh. Yegge
daa'en t'aas kk'olseyo hu yooyee
ghesetseetl," yetnee. "Ts'uh yegge
eet do'ots'e yegge dodeggets'e
t'aas koon kk'olseyo. Ahu koon
yooyee ghesetseetl," nee.

"O! Oho', ggenaa', enaa baa-
see'," nee dehoon naa'en gheel
yedeelgho taalyo. "Nedaats'e soo'
dehefnee?" yoodnee. Ts'uh go do-
tlents'e kk'oleyo lonh hu dotlen
taalyo. Huyel hunde huy k'eldo de
nelyo lonh. Ts'uh eeydee gheel
laatlghaanh. Ts'uh kk'udaa yoogh

way to go to follow the tracks. He
could not figure it out. He followed
the tracks back and forth and
looked at them. He was looking at
the tracks and nothing else.

Suddenly, someone shouted at
him, "Hey! Why are you laughing
at my tracks?"

K'etetaalkkaanee looked up.
Someone was walking toward
him. "Oh my! How can I laugh
at anybody? I'm walking along,
starving for want of food,"
K'etetaalkkaanee replied.

"Hmh! If what you say is true,
follow my tracks back to where I
came from. You'll come to a place
where I had diarrhea," the man
told him. "Then go past that place
and keep following my track where
I went up on the hill. I also had
diarrhea up there," the man said.

"Oh okay, friend. Thank you
very much," K'etetaalkkaanee
replied, and he started off in the
direction the man had told him to
go.² K'etetaalkkaanee was think-
ing, "I wonder what he meant by
that." He walked down to where
the man supposedly first had

2. The way the man talked let K'etetaalkkaanee know that he was being directed to some-
thing important.

yugh kk'oleneek. Ts'uh kk'udaa
naa'en daa'en koon tl'ee go degge-
ts'e koon kk'olseyo nee ts'uh.

Huyet go hun koon bedzeyh
dodaaltaanh. Eeyet koon kk'udaa
huyee ts'aahoonee'onh. Ts'uh go
kk'udaa go nelaan nekogh et'aanh.
Ts'uh doogh hen hokko kk'udaa
hoonaatl-'aan'. Teey eetodaa de
hun hen hoolaanh. Ts'uh doogh
tl'odon nen' deggehu dent'aa hu
ghee' kk'udaa neenok'etaaleghaak.
Neenok'edeghaayh. K'udaa
baale eet neeneelo. Go nelaan
hulcokk'udogho he'elen.

diarrhea. There he came upon
something in its den.³ He killed
and butchered it and started off
again to where the man had told
him to go.

He came to a place where the
man had killed many caribou.
K'etetaalkkaanee butchered all of
the caribou. He had a lot of meat.
He began to look around for a river.
He came upon a river not too far
from there. He began to carry the
meat to a place on the riverbank
where the ground was high. He
kept carrying the meat there until
he had brought all of the food. He
had enough meat to last all spring.

3. He came upon a bear. Large game animals are treated circumspectly, their names seldom mentioned outright.

Ts'eyee Gheeyo Denh
Where He Spent the Spring



Ts'uh go tl'otne tlenen' nee'oy
tleekk'e kk'udaa neenok'odeghaak.
Kk'udaa eet ts'eyee taalyo. Dehoon
hulookk'udogho ode kk'oyenee'ee-
deleet, "Go lo nedaats'e helde kk'u-
daa haahaa hen dodo' detaaghs-
neel?" yeneelenh. Go needzets'e
huyaan' hek'ehoodenee ts'uh,
"Needze taaghsikkaal," yeneelenh.
Yoogh k'ededelaayh koonh.

Ts'uh kk'udaa deyh koon no-
daadlet'aa gheelhee. Ts'uh eeydee
gheel neel'aanh. Huyel go yeyaa-
dle yugh hugheehon neel'aanh. Go
beedoy yelts'edneegaa eenh uhden-
t'ay taaghetltseel yeneelenh.
Huyel hun, "Go neelkk'aats'e ee-
naadleyo daa' helde... Yoogh ne-
daats'e detaaghsleel yee needze
taaghsikkaal," yeneelenh. Deyh
yaadle helde tl'ogho yuh k'etlaat
kk'aant'aa gheelhee. Go beyee
koon hoolaanh. Ts'uh kk'udaa eey-
dee needaaneel'aanh.

Ts'e yoogh ledo. Dehoon kk'u-
daa gheel tohudeleet. Kk'udaa hun
loo koon ooldaakk. Ts'uh go, "Tlaa
eey gen soo' tototeel?" yeneelenh.
Ts'uh kk'udaa go dekenh lel

He carried all the meat to the
high ground along the riverbank.
He spent the spring at that place,
but all spring he thought, "How
am I going to go downriver from
here?" It is easier to go downriver
than upriver. "I will go down-
river," he thought. He killed
some game now and then.

One day, he cooked himself a
spruce grouse. He looked at it. He
looked at the breastbone after he
had eaten the meat. He did not
know about canoes, but he decided
to make one. "I will make one
somehow and go downriver in it,"
he thought. "Well, maybe if I
bend up each end..." Spruce grouse
breastbones are shaped like the
bowpieces of a canoe. They are
hollow too. He decided to use it as
a model.

He stayed there. The ice was
breaking up. The river was clear
of ice. He thought, "I wonder
what kind of bark will float."
Then he looked at the bark of

ekk'oyeneek'eelleet. Ts'uhu ts'ebaa
lotlaakk haadeneelkool. Ts'uh
kk'udaa eeydee toghee'uh dehoon
yoonfugh nohudaaldonh de yen-
gge totel gheeyo. Ts'uh eet ledoo.

Huyel doogh hun yuh go taa-
deeghelggustl. Toyolteelaa.
"T'ogho eeydee ees nedeenh,"
yeneelenh.

Ts'uh kk'udaa t'eghel lel
koon kk'udaa denloh. Ts'uh eey-
dee koon toghee'uh. Ts'uh kk'udaa
eeydee negge koon totel naaghe-
deyo. Ts'uh yoodo dots'en ledoo.
Huyel hudegaaf donfugh hundenh.
Beyee nodegheetsef. Ts'uh taadaa-
neel'onh. Dehoon gheel o toyoteel
eenhde edetugh yuh toyolteelaa.

Ts'uh kk'udaa yoogh ode ledoo.
Ts'uh kk'udaa kk'eeyh lel koon
kk'udaa togheelkool. Eeydee negge
koon kk'udaa totel naaghedeyo.
Ts'e yoogh eet ledoo. Eeyet ledoo.
Huyel hudegaaf doogh hunde nee-
dze toyokkol. Todokk'e toyolkettl.

"Haa! Oho!," yeneelenh. "Kk'u-
daa gon ees ghulaa' t'o deetaagh-
t'lt'aa'," yeneelenh. Ts'uh kk'udaa
koon nonoo' go ts'eeekaaayeh ledoo
de huts'e koon kk'udaa notaaleyo.

different trees. He peeled off some
spruce bark. He put it into the
water and it started to float down-
stream around the bend. He ran
across a short portage. He waited.

The spruce bark floated down-
stream, submerged. It did not float
on the surface, so he thought, "No,
I can't use that."

After that, he tried the bark of
a cottonwood tree. He threw it into
the water. He went over the port-
age again and waited for it there.
Finally it floated out. It was
soaked through and submerged. It
floated, but it was still not right.

After he had stayed in camp for
a while, he peeled off some birch
bark. He put it into the water and
went over the portage again and
waited. He sat there. Finally, it
floated out from around the bend. It
was on the surface of the water and
had no water in it. It floated on the
surface of the water.

"Ha! yes!" he thought. "This is
what I am going to use." He started
to walk back to the camp where he
had been staying.

Kk'udaa yoogh neelts'eghunk'e-delt'es koonh. Huyel go kk'eyh koon deedot. Ts'uh kk'udaa ts'e-baa kk'udaa beedoy denh laaghe denaaltlel. Ts'uh neelts'eghunye-daatlkkotl. Kk'udaa beedoy denh degheeghon'. Ts'uh kk'udaa beedoy denh daatlggunh. Ts'uh kk'udaa yeghuts koon detaalghon'. Yeghuts degheeghon'. Kk'udaa k'eentel koonh. K'eentel koon degheeghon'. Ts'uh kk'udaa netaa-yedeetaaldlo. Kk'udaa go k'etlaat k'etlaat koon degheeghon'. Kk'udaa go ede deyfaanee deyh yaadle gheel nonel'eyh. Yekk'oyeneek'eel-leet. "Gon neelkk'aats'e letonh daa' helde eeydee t'o daadetot'aa," yood-nee gheelhee. Go yoogh ts'ebaa laanh deelaan deelggunaayee. O go k'eggaadle ts'enh koon k'ehegheeghon'. Dehoon laanh yoogh ede hunee'oodaalee'oy koon yegge yoo-yeh hoggetlheyeyh. Eet helde hoo-zoonhts'e heyen'e'meyh. Go laanh deelaanh ts'uh, deelggunaa ts'uh.

Eeydee gheel kk'udaa yeghe-nee denloh. Ts'uh neelkk'aats'e k'etlaat yugh needaaneelo.

Yoogh ts'aa netoogh hee. Go hulookk'e dogho daaneellot ts'uh. Go netaan et'aanh eeydee kkaa ledlo. Kk'udaa eeydee gheel aaye-daaneelo. Ts'uh kk'udaa yeyee

He had also been splitting logs into boards. The birch had been too heavy. Then he had cut down a spruce tree for the canoe frame. He split it and made it into pieces for the frame of the canoe. He dried the boards for the frame and began to make the ribs. He made the ribs and then the crosspieces too. He made the crosspiece to go across the top. Then he began to put it all together. He had made the bowpieces too. He used the breastbone of the spruce grouse as a model. He shaped the bowpiece. "Each end will have a bowpiece," he thought. He had used some green spruce that had not yet dried. They also used to make bowpieces from big roots among driftwood. They would take the big roots from a standing tree while the roots were still green. That way the roots would be easier to carve because they would be green and not dried.

He prepared the needed materials to make the canoe. Then he put the two bowpieces on either end.

This whole process probably took him a long time because it was a long spring. He was living on the meat that he had. He attached the frame to the bowpiece. Then he put

k'eghuts degheelo. Kk'udaa k'een-
tel koon nu'undaaltleyh. Kk'udaa
eey dehoon gheel dek'etolk'el ts'e
dehoodeyoghee. Go kk'udaa
dek'eedletsegaa ts'uh.

Kk'udaa kk'eeyh detaatl-'aan'.
Kk'eeyh lel degheel'aan'. Kk'udaa
eeydee yugh neeneelo. Go huyh
koon negheelk'el. Ts'uh kk'udaa
eet kk'udaa yuh baahaa kk'oyede-
tolkkon yet yeghenee neek'eneelo.
Ts'uh go yugh kk'o'eedeneeyh.
Kk'udaa yeghenee neehooneelo.

Dehoon gheel yoogh koon yee-
kk'e nonohutaalelet. Ts'uh gheel
yoogh bel neltenh gheelhee. Do'o
t'aanh yugh neehooneelo. Ts'uh
ts'aano'eedelet. Huyel denaaghe-
neede! Do'o koon yuh bebedoy yuh
kk'odetolkkon' ts'e huyaana' dent'aa.
Yuh kk'eeyh baa'eelyo gheelhee.

"Haa! Go lo debaa deyeeloh?"
yeneelenh.

Ts'uh kk'udaa yoogh koon yugh
kk'onoleneek huyoze. Ts'uh kk'u-
daa yoogh koon dzaan nohodelet.

Yekk'oyeneek'eelfleet. "Go lo
debaa? Debaa yugh kk'oleneek?"
yeneelenh. "Go lo tl'ogho hootl'el-
ts'e bel naalgetenh."

in the ribs, and then he put on the
top crosspieces. It was the time of
year when the trees could be
easily peeled, when the sap was
not dried up.

Then he began to collect the
birch. He gathered the birch
bark. Then he piled it next to the
frame. He also gathered some
roots. He got everything ready so
he could sew the birch bark to the
frame. He worked on it and got it
all ready.

It was late in the evening. He
fell asleep after getting every-
thing ready. Then he woke up.
What the devil? To his surprise
the canoe was all ready to be
sewn. The birch bark had been
laid against the frame.

"Hey! Who did that?" he
thought.

Then he worked on it a little
more and another day went by.

He wondered about it. "Who
was it? Who worked on it?" he
wondered. "I must have slept very
soundly."

Kk'adaa bekk'aatolneyhtl ts'e delyoh. Ts'uh kk'adaa gheel koon yeekk'e nonohutaallet. Ts'uh kk'adaa dek'ede'aat'on ts'ede gheel ghu neelt'otl. Noh kk'aa hoodletseenh. Eet hokk'aa hunee'faanh.

Dehoon gheel be! hok'edenle-tenh. Letaanh. Yeekk'e nohole---l. Yoo'oots'e huts'e hudedeggut eet!ekk. Dehoon k'enaadle'eenh. Kk'e dok'enaadlekool, go ts'ede t'oh. Do'o hun koon solt'en kkaa needenaadeggut. Hun koon heyugh kk'otaafeneek.

Gheel kk'adaa, "Haa! Yegge lo eey dek'elogh kkaa," yeneelenh. Tl'ogho hunee'faanh.

"Netooghe! Netooghe!" nee'chedednee. Dehoon kk'adaa kk'ok'chedetaatlkkon'.

Go elkeeh doldoy laagh lo go non! k'etlaat ts'uhu gheel kk'ohude-
kkonce. Huyel go beggenaa' k'eele-
kk'ee hun, "He! Ggenaa, k'edenhne
oho bugh kk'ohoodeneeyh. Nedaa-
den'faan eeydee?" yetnee.

"Haa! Ggenaaa', ts'eedokk'eeyh
yekk'e hulaaghe," nee gheelhee.
Et'eeylo kk'adaa ts'eedokk'eeyh
yekk'e hultseeeyee.

The canoe was all ready to be finished. Again, it was late at night. He took his tanned hide blanket and made a hole in it. He made himself a peephole through which he could see.

Then he pretended to sleep. He was lying there. It was late at night when he heard some noise. He was hiding. His face was covered; he was under the blanket. Many women came to the canoe and, to his surprise, they started to work on it.

Then he thought, "Oh, so those are the ones who did that." He watched them closely.

They whispered to each other, "Hurry up! Hurry up!" They began to sew.

The woman who was to become a boreal owl sewed on an area that was to be covered up. Then one of her friends said, "Friend, why are you sewing it that way when we're making it for someone else?"¹

"Oh, friend, this part is going to be covered anyway," she answered. Evidently she was creating careless sewing in hidden parts for the future.

1. Her friend was asking why she was making sloppy, big stitches.

Dehoon yegge solt'aanh k'eele-
kk'enh gheel lo'ts'e betleeghono-
yesnedekkuk, soonh aahaa. Eeydee
gheel eenaatl-'aanh'. Eeydee yaan'
neef'aanh. Huyel kk'udaa do'o zo
neeheyeneetonh, yuh heyenodol-
nekk ts'uh. Heyedolnekk ts'uh
neeheyeneetonh.

"Netooghe, nugh kk'udaa
ts'aatolel," neef'enedetaanee'.

"Haa! Debaa lonek'e yegge
solt'aanh k'edeeteey nezoon degho-
tley seelto'eelghole," yeenaal-
dleen'. Kk'udaa no'o huneef'aanh.

Huyel hun, "Netooghe kk'udaa
ts'aatolel. Kk'udaa ts'aatolel,"
neef'ehdednee. Kk'udaa hun koon
hughonohegheltseet. O go hede-
k'edeghotley yaan'.

Huyel hun, "He! Ggenaa nugh
sedeghotley nogheeghel, go doogh
t'aanh," detaanee'. Eeydee okko
nuhutaadleyo. Dehoon, "Netoo-
ghe!" Naa'en k'eldon' uhdon haa-
nodeededaatl. Dehoon k'uhtl'o-
ghunh ts'e needaalenh. O go ne-
daanh huts'enh koon bekk'aatl'o
nok'eetolyel. Ts'uh gheel lo'ts'eyuh
go deghotley ghe'en gheel neeke'-
eelghel. Nuhuldel. Bel neelteelaa
gheelhee. Go benhudeetyonh
ts'uhuyaanh'. Degge daaneeltset.
Ts'uh no'o yuh yeetlyel.

One of the women was so pretty
that her face glowed with beauty.
He began to look at her. He
watched only her. Soon the canoe
was finished, because they all had
been working together. They
finished it quickly.

"Hurry, he's going to wake up
soon," they told each other.

He wished, "I hope that pretty
girl loses her awl." He watched
them.

"Hurry up! He's going to wake
up! He's going to wake up!" they
told each other. They picked up
their things very quickly, proba-
bly just their awls.

Then the girl said, "Hey,
friend, my awl fell around here."
She began to search for it while
the others told her, "Hurry up!"
Some of them had already left.
She was the last one. She could not
leave without it because it was not
easy to replace. She refused to go
without her awl. She searched for
it frantically. K'etetaalkkaanee
must not have slept that night,
being so enchanted. He jumped up
and grabbed her.

Deetaalbaah. "Gonaa'! Go sets'oolneek!" nee ts'en'. Tl'ogho yuh kk'udaa hun koon yuh taalbeh.

Ode yoogheetunh eehoo. Lo'-ts'eyuh golo dodeteedleleel. Kk'u-daa gheel yenodegheetset. Go belo-tl'ugh ts'aayeeneyo gheelhee. Naa'en t'aanh.

Kk'udaa beedoy dzaah koon degheefaan'. Ts'ebaa k'edzaah degheefaan'. Eeydee koon kk'udaa aahaa yeeldzaakk. Kk'udaa tonoyeteyh. Hun koon yuh toyokkol. "Go ees kk'udaa tl'ogho needze taaghskkaal," yeneelenh. Tugh'oy koon etltseenh.

Dehoon go solt'aanh eyeneedeelaanh. Yenoyeneetellek go heghelneeyh dehoon. "Tlaa eey ne-daanh huts'enh soo' dehet'aanh?" kk'udaa yeneelenh. Kk'udaa nee-k'otokkaal eenhde daa'en go huts'e haanaahedeededaatl hu gheel taal-yo hee. Kk'udaa daa'en ehuh gheho. Go yuhu helonh ts'uh doogh zo yuh tlee'eedegges gheelhee. Dohoot'aa deheghe'en hunotle don hutetl'-eey hu. Kk'udaa daa'en gheho, gheho. Huyel do'o hun kk'udaa onh doy hoolaanh.

She began to yell. "Help! Someone grabbed me!" She was barking.²

He held on to her for a while but she would not stop yelling. He let her go. She must have escaped from him. She ran off.

He gathered some pitch for the canoe. He got some spruce pitch and sealed the canoe with it. He kept putting the canoe into the water. It floated well. "Now I am ready to paddle downriver," he thought. He also made a paddle.

He was thinking about the girl. While he was getting ready, he thought about her now and then. "I wonder where they came from," he thought. He was ready to go when he walked over toward where they had come from. He followed their trail. Because there were so many of them, their path was well worn. I don't know why he had not seen the trail before. He walked and walked. He came to the entrance of a den.

2. The *Denaakk'e* verb for the sound she made is *taalbeh*. It suggests that she was barking like a fox.

Eet hunee'aanh. Go yuh eet huyenotleegehdegges. Ts'uh go onh doy lehaanh.

Doychts'e hun tleets'eeltluh. "Sode, 'Nenh doo?' se'nee sode," nee dehoon deldlek deldlek kk'aa t'aanh.

"Naa, nugh node kk'e deteghee-t'aa' eenh nenot'egge nenuh'yee ghedetlaakk," yel'nee. At'eeylo tse-gheldaale.

"Ne'ot netl'onosoltaal." Beyeenhooldlet ts'uh noyegge t'aanh.

Eet lehaanh huyel doychts'e hun koon tleenots'eeltluh. Solt'aanh yoze yoogh yuh nedaats'e eey kusge kk'aant'aay ts'ednee ts'en'. Koon tlee'eeltluh. "Sode, 'Nenh doo?' se'nee sode." Yeetaatlyel dehoon noyegge t'aanh. "Ne'ot netl'onosoltaal," daadeyoh. At'eeylo kusge.

Kk'adaa doogh eet lehaanh doychts'e hun koon kk'adaa

He looked at it. A well-worn path went into it. He stood at the entrance to the den.

Soon a girl rushed out. "My older sister told me 'How about you?' my older sister," she said, while making the noise *dlek dlek*.³

"No, you would be as pretty as your older sister if your eyelids didn't droop," he answered her. Apparently she was a squirrel.

She said, "We'll give you back your wife." Then she rushed back into the house, offended.

He stood there, and then another woman rushed out. She was a very small, pretty woman—you know the expression, "as pretty as a least weasel." She rushed out next. "My older sister told me, 'How about you?'" He grabbed for her but she ducked back inside. "We'll give you back your wife." Apparently she was a least weasel.

He continued to stand there, and then another woman came out, one

3. Her older sister, the fox, asked her to try to attract K'etetaalkkaanee's interest. The *De-naakk'e* verb *deldlek* means "to make the sound *dlek*" and suggests the noise and movement of a squirrel. Each woman who came out of the house had a different voice, which Catherine Attla imitated while she was telling the story. The squirrel spoke rapidly.

solt'aanh nekoh huyozeyee. Yoogh
 lo'ts'eyuh soonh aahaa betleeghno-
 yesnedekkugenh. Kk'udaa tlee'eel-
 tluh. "Sode, 'Nenh doo?' setnee
 sode," nee. Huyel hun yetaatlyel
 dehoon, "Ne'ot netl'onosoltaal."
 Noyegge t'aanh. Doo', yekk'aay
 taaltset. At'eeyto kaaghozene.

Ts'uh kk'udaa doyehts'e hun
 koon solt'aanh tleeno'eeltluh.
 "Sode, 'Nenh doo?' setnee sode."
 Haa! nugh...Do'eent'aa lo go eey-
 dee edegheenee'. At'eeyto deel-
 tsaa'e. Eeydee helde nedaats'e lo go
 de'eent'aa yelnee. Eeydee ees be-
 nolgeneh. Eeydee koon naayegge
 t'aanh beyeenhooldlet. Ts'uh,
 "Ne'ot netl'onosoltaal," nee.

Yoogh dehoot'aa huyel doyeh-
 ts'e hun koon tleets'o'ustl.
 Solt'aanh yok'aale. "Sode, 'Nenh
 doo?' setnee sode," nee.

"Nugh node kk'e detegheet'aa'
 eenh nugh noh k'eleek kk'e
 de'eent'aa," yelnee. Go noh ede
 neendo yelnee.

who was a little bigger than the
 last. She was so pretty that her
 face glowed with beauty. She
 rushed out. Speaking slower than
 the others, she said, "My older
 sister told me, 'How about you?' my
 older sister." He grabbed for her,
 but she ducked back inside. "We'll
 give you back your wife," she said
 quickly. Doo', he had grabbed for
 her but had failed to reach her.
 Apparently she was a weasel.

Then another woman came
 rushing out and spoke in a high,
 fast voice. "My older sister said,
 'How about you?'" I forgot what
 he said to her. Apparently she
 was a mouse woman. I forgot that
 part. She also rushed back inside
 angrily, saying, "We'll give you
 back your wife."

Some time had passed when
 another woman came out slowly.
 She looked poor. Slowly, she said,
 "My older sister told me, 'How
 about you?' my older sister."

He told her, "Oh, you would be
 as pretty as your sister if you
 weren't so much like a *noh k'eleek*.⁴
 That was his way of telling her
 she was too blind.

4. *Noh k'eleek* means "eye song" and refers to boreal owls or people with poor eyesight. Athabaskans believe that boreal owls are partially blind in daylight.

"Ne'ot netl'onosoltaa," nee.
Noyegge t'aanh. At'eeylo lo elkeeh
doldoye.

Ts'uh kk'udaa yoogh ledo.
Huyel doyehts'e koon tleenots'eel-
tluh. "Sode, 'Nenh doo'?' setnee
sode." So't'aanh tlaagge kuh.

"Nugh node kk'e detegheet'aa'
eenh nugh nodootlk'eehts'ehk,"
yefnee. At'eeylo negoodzeghe. Go
helde neelts'eyhtl neelts'eyhtl ts'e
ent'aa go nodootlk'eehts'ehk
yefnee. "Ne'ot netl'onosoltaa."
Noyegge t'aanh.

Kk'udaa yoogh t'aanh detlek-
ts'e---n' tleehegheedeyhtl. Dehoon
lo'ts'eyuh yoogh daaduht'aa daa-
duht'aa degheenee'. Kk'udaa hun
hedaahedenaaleneek. Go so't'aanh
neteek'ee yaan' kk'aay taaltset.
Yoogh et'eeylo be'ooneeley yeh,
holey yeh ts'ednee. Lo go neeyo
huts'enh dehet'aanh. Yoogh detlek-
ts'e---n'. Taahgoodze koon nedaa-
ts'e lo go de'edegheenee'? Ts'e
sooge koonh.

"We'll give you back your
wife," she said slowly. Then she
went back inside. Apparently she
was a boreal owl.

He was still there, waiting.
Another one came rushing out and
spoke slower and louder and more
gruffly than the others. "My older
sister told me, 'How about you?'"
She was a big, awkward woman.

"You would be as pretty as your
older sister if you didn't keep
blinking," he told her. Apparently
she was a great horned owl. He
had said that to her because she
kept blinking her eyes. "We'll
give you back your wife." She
rushed back inside.

One by one, more women came
out to him. He found something
wrong with each one of them. None
of them had pleased him except
the two that he had grabbed for
and missed. It was a house of birds
and small animals. It was a house
of fur-bearing animals.⁵ They had
come to him from that place. He
said something to a mink too, but I
have forgotten what. There was a
marten too.

5. These animals are associated with riches.

Ts'uh kk'udaa noyeh huts'e hun gheel, "Tleek'elool ghudekkoyh," ts'ednee eetlekk. Kk'udaa, "Tleek'elool ghudekkoyh. Tleek'elool ghudekkoyh."

Yenhedeetaalneek. Noyeh huts'e hudetaaleneenh. Huyel kk'udaa tleehetaaldaatl. Yuh k'eelhoolt'aa de yuh detlekts'e yuh tleeheneedaatl.

Huyel noyeh zo yuh laal doye-gge yot'aan' ts'e dehoodeyoh. Go helde tleek'elool ghudekkoyh eey detlekts'e k'eelhoolt'aa denh tleeheneedaatl daa' hudeneekoh ts'e duhutoneel ts'e ent'aa go tleek'elool ghudekkoyh. Kk'udaa tleek'elool eedekkuyh. Kk'udaa detlekts'e tleeheneedaatl. Huyel noyeh zo yuh hedoso'ustl ts'e yuh dehoot'aa. Ts'uh kk'udaa noyegge hedoneeyo. Huyel donee hun kk'udaa ts'eldo, go beghe'en duhut'aanee. Ts'uh kk'udaa eeydee kk'el neets'enee'ots.

Dehoon kk'udaa bek'etaadlelon'. Kk'udaa hedonok'ehetaadlekek koonh. Yoogh detlekts'e---n' baabe zoo' okko tleehete'us eeydee he-daanaahelkek.

Huyel deeltsaa' lo go hun le-ggun beghok'eghaalekk'usge yoogh benodzen yozee bugh le'on hun

He heard someone inside say, "May the entrance become big. May the entrance become big. May the entrance become big."

They all began chanting this song. Then the ground began to shake. They all started to come out at once. They all came out at once.

Suddenly, the entryway became larger. They had chanted and come outside together to make the entryway large. The entrance had become large and they all came out. The tunnel became big enough for him to enter, so he went inside. He saw her sitting back against the wall. It was the girl he had fallen in love with. He went over to her and sat beside her.

They began to feed him. One by one, they went outside and brought in food. One by one, they went outside to get good food.

When it was the mouse's turn, she went out and brought in a dried fish skin that had been

hedono'eet'onh. "Haa! Noh K'e-leek debaabe ts'ugh kk'udaa tl'ogho yuh sebaabe ehonh aahaa." Go elkeeh doldoy debaabe daadle-koode. Uhts'e heghe'en ent'ey koon uhdehednee.

Noh K'eleek debaabe daadle-koot dehoon sebaabe ehonh nee ts'en'.

"Haa! Yuh dohoonaaney, 'edugh nodenaalset'eenh,' deenee," nee hun go elkeeh doldoy ent'aa go Noh K'eleek. Kk'udaa koon neelts'e kkenaahedetaadleghos. Ts'uh kk'udaa gheel heyek'egheeton'.

Dehoon, "Seyel noteedoyh. Seyel needze tegheekkaal duhughunh," beeznee. Go tl'ogho ye-kk'aa dent'aa. Go nohbaay sol-t'aanh lo'ts'eyuh nezoonh gheelhee. Ts'uh kk'udaa beyel noyetaaleyo, go huts'enh det'aanh denh. Dets'ee-kkaayeh kk'udaa noheet'ots. Ts'uh kk'udaa yoogh eet nohododo'. Ts'uh kk'udaa gheel neek'ohetaal-kkaanh. Et'eeylo eey go bel yee-neeltaanh hu ghoneyhtl. Ts'uh beyel k'eghetoineyhdlaa. Udenh yaan'.

chewed on; only a little bit of meat was left on it. Disgusted, she said, "Oh that Noh K'eleek. While she's saving her food she's always eating mine." The boreal owl is known for saving food. To this day, people still say that.⁶

The mouse was implying that the boreal owl was eating the mouse's food while saving her own.

"Huh! Why don't you just say 'I stole it from myself?'" replied the boreal owl, Noh K'eleek. They began to argue. After the argument died down, they fed him.

He said to the fox woman, "Come with me, come downriver with me." The fox woman was very pretty. She left with him to go toward where he had come from. They went back to his camp. They stayed there for a while. They got ready to leave. Apparently where he was going was where he had traveled before in his sleep, so nobody could travel with him. He had to travel alone.

6. Sometimes people would try to save choice morsels of food to eat later on but end up eating them anyway. When this happens, they jokingly blame it on the boreal owl, just like the mouse in this story.

Kk'udaa nodo' yeyel needze taalkkaan. Huyel denaagheneede! Lo'ts'eyuh betl'eehulez deedegoot, go nohbaaye. Yee! Neghaa' ts'uh gheel denee yeetlido dehoon so ts'ughu dok'etlkool. Dehoon notaa-lebeh go deyeh huk'aa. Notaa-lebeh. Kk'udaa notaaletsah dehoon yuh neghaa'. Kk'udaa gheel neel-lot de nee'ekkaalaa dehoon gheel neeghoneekkaan. Ts'uh yenodegheeneek.

"Haa! Yuh denaagheneede dont'aa yuh betl'eehulez beyel no-deedegoode lo go dedaadeyoghee?" yelnee dehoon yenodegheetset.

Et'eylo baak'enee'onh huyel yuh neghaa'. Nonoo' totel huts'e--n' ebeh ebeh ebeh eetl'ekk. Doo' kk'udaa uhts'e haahaa kk'udaa yenodegheeneek. Kk'udaa needze taalkkaan.

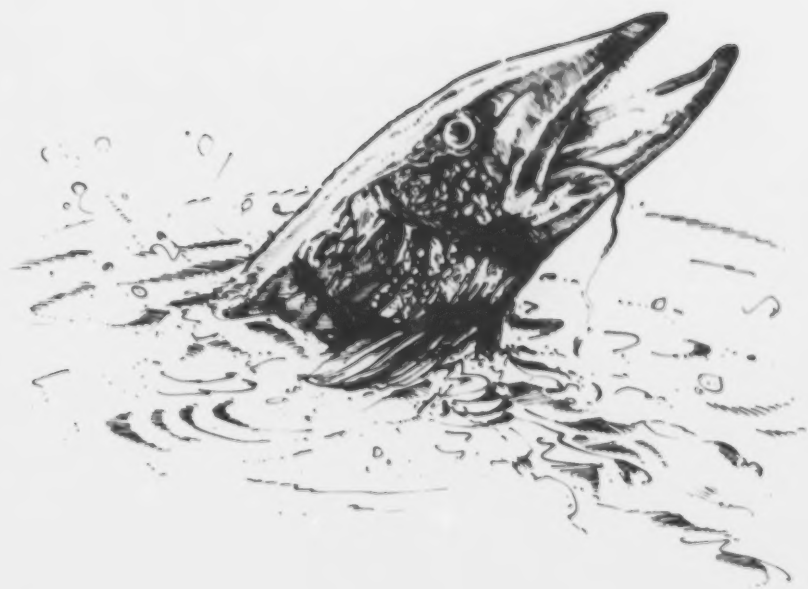
She left with him. Then, like the devil, the fox woman became really hot and began to perspire and her body odor became quite strong.⁷ Whew! The odor was so strong that he put up a shade for her where she was sitting behind him in the canoe, but the heat was too much for her and she began to cry for her house. She had begun barking again. She would not stop and her odor was very strong. He had not gone very far in the canoe when he had to land and release her.

"Hey! What's the matter? Is her own odor too much for her?" he said, while releasing her.

Apparently that is what happened when the sun hit her. He heard her going upriver, crying "beh, beh, beh" all the way. That is why he had to release her. Then he began his journey downriver.

7. Foxes have strong body odor, especially when they are hot.

Geltl
Fishhook



Kk'udaa udenh yaan' ghe-
kkaal, ghekkaal, nodo' needze
ghekkaal. Kk'udaa ts'aaghekkaal
dehoon yodo hun taagetlts'etl-
'onh. Kk'aaghe edeyel notaletset.
Daangge yuh neegho'eeldzel.
At'eghl detaalt'aan debeedoy noo-
yee gheegges. Taah dleton ehok'e-
deedletseenh. Go k'oolkoyh kuh
gheel go taah dleton beezneey hee.
Taah dleton ehok'eedeetletseenh.
Notlen taaghelzoot.

Ts'uh dodo' needze ghebaal.
Yegeldle etlyel. Nedaats'e lo yegge
k'ets'eelgetl huyel honots'edentsek,
honots'edentsek. Hoyedengheetset.
Lo'ts'eyuh begeldle yeetlyel. Doo'
nonoo' haano'eedebaanh taah
kkaatl'ogh donoo'. Ts'uh kk'udaa
yoonnee debeedoy ghunh denaa
enoldlaat. Kk'udaa tonoleyo ts'uh
kk'udaa debeedoy ghu, "Tl'ogho
nedaanh neeyeeghuteel?"

Then he paddled alone. He
paddled and paddled downstream.
As he came around a bend, he saw
someone fishing with a fishhook at
the far end of the straight stretch
ahead of him. He pulled himself
back around the bend and quickly
paddled ashore. It was to be the
first of many times that he would
pull his canoe up onto the bank. He
turned himself into a big pike. The
big pike is called *taah dleton*¹
because it rests, motionless, under
the surface. He turned himself into
a big pike and slid into the water.

He swam downriver and grabbed
the man's fishhook. You know how
you jerk a fishing line, pulling the
fish's head out of the water. This
man jerked the pike's head out of
the water. The pike yanked the
fishhook from the line and, *doo'*,
swam upstream with it deep under
the water. He went back to where
he had left his canoe and turned
back into a person. As he went up
the bank to his canoe, he wondered
where he was going to put the hook.

1. "That which stays still in the water."

Huyel deneyh ts'e yeyel de-
neyh. Deyenh ts'e yekk'aa'eelneek.
Lo'ts'e yooyegge neeyeghu'ol de
hedenh. Yokko nuhutolyaah ts'e
huyel deneyh. Yengheef'aan'. Ts'uh
gheel dek'ek'etlaat aak'edeneetonh.
Koon nosoonhu netaakk'aa doldoyee.
Go denh k'eelekk'ee haade-
neetonh. Ts'uh eet hut'ey degheetonh.
Ts'uh dek'ek'etlaat yeyel
okk'aa nodegheetonh.

Debeedoy tonogheegges. Kk'u-
daa nodo' needze notaalekkaanh.
Yugh neeghoneekkaanh. Donggu
zo ts'eldo. Debeedoy duggu nee-
neegges. Dehoon nodegge yet's'e
hotaalyo.

"Heey! Bezaa'en tl'eegho
naaghtl-'aan' oodesnee," nee gheel-
hee. Doogh yeneef'aanh. Huyel
hun, "Bezo tl'ogho hodenaaghs-
tset," yelnee.

"Ggenaa, nedaats'e ghulaa'
dehedeenee?" yelnee.

"Nedaakoon bet's'e hutaaghs-
ts'et soodeghoonee'yu. Ees ne-
naaghtl-'aan'. Sek'egeldle sett'ono-

K'etetaalkkaanee had real-
ized that the other person knew
what he had done. It became
apparent to K'etetaalkkaanee
that this person was a medicine
person. He did not have any place
to hide the fishhook. He knew
that the man would search for it,
having seen him. He took a board
from his bowpiece, which had just
been made. He removed a board,
put the fishhook into the groove,
and put the board back over it.

He dragged the canoe down
the bank and into the water. Then
he continued to paddle down-
stream. He paddled to the man.
The man was sitting on the bank.
K'etetaalkkaanee landed and
dragged his canoe onto the beach
and went up the bank to him.

The man said, "Yes, I thought I
saw him." He looked closely at
K'etetaalkkaanee. "Yes, I jerked
his face out of the water," he
said.

"Friend, I don't know what
you're talking about,"
K'etetaalkkaanee replied.

"Don't think that you're going
to fool me. I saw you. You have to
give me back my fishhook. Friend,

teghee'ol ts'uhayaan'. Ggenaa', ees baadenh setegheeldlooh ts'uhayaan'," yefnee.

"Ggenaa, gen ghulaa' dodee-nee?" yefnee.

"Ees nenaaghtl-'aan'," yefnee.

Kk'udaa bek'eyegheeton'. Dehoon kk'udaa go doogh go de'aat'on tlaagge neyedaalkool kk'udaa detlekts'e yekot'e detlekts'e nuhutaadleyo. Kk'udaa go yoogh ts'eyee ledloy yoze koon detlekts'e te nuhulyaah.

"Nedeenh ggenaa', ees huyel ts'eseneegaa ts'e ent'aa eey dehe-deenee," yefnee.

"Ees nenaaghtl-'aan'. Ggenaa, setl'onoteghee'ol ts'uhayaan'."

Yets'e beyeenhuldledaa zaa'ene. Go netaahenleget gheelhee. "Setl'onoteghee'ol ts'uhayaan'. Ees setegheeldlooh. Baadenh dotaaghes-neelee? Ggenaa, nugh nets'ey no-detaaghs'uh ts'uhayaan'," yefnee.

"Ggenaa, baadenh dotaaghsneel eey dodeeneeyee?" yedetaalneel'.

you're going to starve me if you keep it," the man told him.

"Friend, I don't know what you're talking about," K'etetaalkkaanee replied.

"I saw you," the man said.

Afterward the man fed him. After the meal, the man began to search him all over, through a leather parka that he was wearing and under all of his clothing. He searched through the few things that K'etetaalkkaanee had in his canoe.

K'etetaalkkaanee told him, "No, friend, I don't know what you're talking about."

"I saw you. Friend, you have to give it back to me."

The man was not angry with him. Perhaps they were afraid of each other's power. "You have to give it back to me. You're going to starve me. What will I do without it? Friend, I have to take your canoe apart," the man told him.

"Friend, what am I going to do without the canoe?" K'etetaalkkaanee asked him.

"Nedeenh, gonh dodo' telghee-kkaale, segeldle yel. Ees ne-naaghtl-'aan'," yelnee.

Kk'udaa nedaats'e needok'eh-ghedodenol. Soot'e yekk'aa'eel-neek kk'aadeyoh gheelhee. Ts'e go yek'ek'etlaat ekk'ohootaatl-'onh. Go beedoy denh haadeneetonh huyel hun go hun hut'e dee'onh.

"Bezo oodesnee. Tl'ogho naaghtl-'aan'," yelnee. "Anaa seggen'aa', kk'udaa nodo' gheekkaal," yelnee. "Ees kk'udaa segeldle no'es'onh," nee.

Kk'udaa eet o yoogh yeyel tlede gheelet gheelhee. Nedaats'e ghulaa? Kk'udaa eet koon hugh haano-deedekkaanh.

"No, you will not go past here with my hook. I saw you."

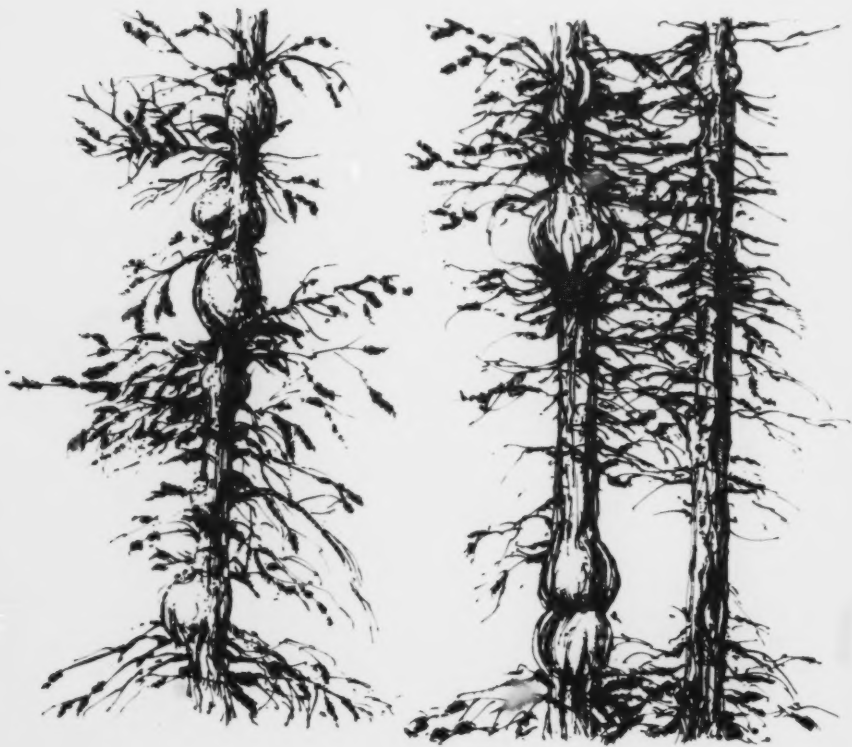
They argued back and forth for a long time. Then the man figured it out and began to take a piece from the bow of the canoe. He removed a board, and there was the fishhook.

"I knew it. I really saw him," he told K'etetaalkkaanee. "My dear friend, now you can paddle downriver," he said to him. "I have found my fishhook," he said.

K'etetaalkkaanee must have spent the night with him. I don't know. Then he left in the canoe once again.

Begho Kk'ask'eghedeeghu'lo'
Soo' Gho Kk'ask'eghedee'onh

How Unlikely to be Hanging
By the Neck From That



Kk'udaa nodo' needze ghekkaat.
 Needze ghekkaat, ghekkaat.
 Kk'udaa koon yoogh ts'aano'eede-
 kkaanh. Huyel hun yoodo huts'e
 ts'aaneekkaan denh yoodo hun
 nonohootseen'. Go ede det'aanh
 ts'e daangge yuh neegho'eeldzet.
 Kk'udaa debeedoy nooyee ghee-
 gges dehoon nodo' k'eenadle'eenh.
 Kk'udaa aado eeyet go nonohool-
 tseenh de neek'enaal'eenh. Daan-
 gge yoogh zo tonotleelegges.

Kk'udaa dotlee nonohootseen'
 de neeneeyo. Ts'uh netlaahok'ena-
 dletul. Deghokk'ushok'eghedee-
 t'onh. Taakeghaaleeyoy. Degho-
 kk'ushok'eghedee't'onh dehoon
 bentseyh nolekkongheele---nh.
 Nek'etlaahudelzees.

Kk'udaa hudodeggul eetlekk.
 Yoonuhts'e huts'e ts'aats'enee'ots.
 Dehoon go denaats'enh nolekkon-
 gheele---nh.

"Heey! Beghokk'usk'eghedee-
 ghuf'o' soo' ghokk'usk'eghedee'-
 onh!" kk'udaa ts'ednee eetlekk.
 Go debaa yuh soho doyeetlaanh
 yoodnee? Denaagheneedee kk'aan-

Then he continued to paddle down-
 stream. He paddled and paddled
 downstream. Again, he came out
 from around a bend. At the far end
 of the straight stretch, a weir had
 been built across the river. As usual,
 he quickly paddled ashore. He
 dragged his canoe back into the
 woods and began to sneak down
 toward the weir. He crept down to
 where the weir was. A well-worn
 path led up the bank.

He walked up to the weir, gave
 himself a nosebleed, and hung him-
 self by the neck from one of the posts
 of the weir—posts whose thick
 ends were in the water. While he
 hung there, his nose bled profusely.
 Blood flowed down from him.

Soon he heard some footsteps.
 Someone came out of the woods to
 the bank. Meanwhile, the blood
 was running off him.

"Hey! What an unlikely thing
 to be hanging by the neck from!
 Didn't the man wonder who hung
 it up there for him?" K'etetaal-
 kkaanee heard him yell. "What

t'aay! Lo'ts'eyuh saalzeel. Bugh neets'enee'ots. Ts'uh nots'egheel-taanh. Doogh lo'ts'eyuh buk'ughu-ts'elneyh. Go zo neeneele—t. Adenk'e noteyeyee? O go neenee-let. Bets'enh nolekkongheelenh.

Kk'udaa baalk'ets'engheetl'oonh. Kk'udaa naangge nosaa'eghaanh. Ts'uh go denaats'e daadebet ts'e gheel yuh t'eyeelt'onh. Kk'udaa nongge neeltugh nots'odeghaaf. Gen nek'e yuh ebaahoogholtso!

Doogh ts'etl etlyel. Dek'etaal-hoh. Dek'ehoh dehoon ts'etl ootunh. Tl'ogho yuh denok'enaadletl'el dehoon hedegheetset. Yoonl ts'eenaatek. Ts'uh nonee denaaten yuh egguts'eltus. At'eeylo nelkkoy eyetaatltsen'.

Denaagheneede! Degge daano-ts'eneeltset dehoon t'ets'aazeelnenh. Do'o yeneel'aanh. Eldetl, eldetl. Kk'udaa yetaatlgus koonh eehoo. Lo'ts'eyuh yekk'ughuleneyh. Yetaatlgus. Huyel tl'ogho yuh eldetl, eldetl.

the devil!" the man began to yell excitedly. He walked over to K'etetaalkkaanee and took him down. He examined K'etetaalkkaanee carefully. He looked dead. Wasn't he breathing? He was bleeding.

The man tied straps around the body and began to carry it back into the woods. As the man carried the body, it was facing him. He had bundled it up and put it on his back. He was carrying it back across the portage. How strong he was!

K'etetaalkkaanee grabbed a willow. K'etetaalkkaanee held onto the willow while the man jerked on him. Finally, the man gave one big jerk and K'etetaalkkaanee let go of the willow. The man fell down hard, and as they landed, K'etetaalkkaanee dug his knee into him. Apparently he was trying to wound him.

What the devil! The man jumped back up and took off his pack. He looked at it. It jerked a little bit. He began to tickle K'etetaalkkaanee. He looked him over and began to tickle him. K'etetaalkkaanee's body jerked a little.

"Hu! Dont'aa yuh beyee tson' k'eghaayee?" yetnee. Ts'uh kk'udaa koon t'enots'elt'onh. Ts'uh kk'udaa koon nongge beyel haano-honhzeedeyel.

Huyel hun go ede det'aanh ts'e doogh ts'etl laagheetenghuyhdlee etlyel. Kk'udaa koon denok'etaa-dletlet. Kk'udaa tl'ogho yuh kk'aa-ghe neenozaat'aatl. Ts'uh denok'ee-taadletlet dehoon yedegheetset. Yoonle ts'eenaaletek.

Ts'uh helde nozeno, "Ebaa! sen-en!" nonce yuh denaanen enoggu-ts'etltus neelk'ots'en. "He!" Kk'udaa tl'ogho zeeduhu deggennohozeel-taanh. Ts'uh kk'udaa koon yeneel-'aanh. Heyedelnenh, heyedelnenh go ghetonol ts'e hokko, eehoo. Dehoon eldetl, eldetl gheelhee.

"Hu! Beyee tson' k'eghaayee?" yetnee. Koonkoon kk'udaa t'enots'elt'onh. Kk'udaa naangge kk'udaa beyel to'ts'eyuh zeedehu kk'udaa go denaanen koon kk'udaa yuh ebaa. Kk'udaa dzoghoteey neenots'eedgehaanh. Nozegheet-nenh. Saakkaay tleegguyhtl-neeldaatl.

"Haa! Eena, eetaa' k'eldlaanh."

"What does he think is so funny?" the man said. Once again, he put the body on his back. Bent over, he continued to carry him quickly across the portage.

As before, K'etetaalkkaanee grabbed a springy willow. The man began jerking him again. The man stepped back and gave one big jerk as K'etetaalkkaanee let go. The man fell down hard.

Ouch! My back!
K'etetaalkkaanee dug his knees into the man's back again. Ouch! That time he was barely able to get up. He looked at him again. He took the pack and hit it against the ground repeatedly to see if it would move. The body jerked a little bit.

"Huh! What does he think is so funny?" the man said. Once again, he put him on his back. He continued to carry him back across the portage, but this time he could hardly manage to do it, his back hurt so much. He carried him back to the door of a house and threw him down. Children came running out of the house.

"Hey, Mom, Daddy caught something."

Noyegge hebeldon' hedonh
ts'e...Ts'uh, "Sednaa, ho noyeh
bek'etleedeenen."

Noyegge t'aanh dehoon,
"Dont'aa nek'e yuh teldoghe,"
yoodnee. Yetaatl-dokk.

"Eetaa, nedaadenh?"

"Ho yehonh eduhnee!"

Kk'udaa hedonh koon ehednee
eehoo.

Dehoon no'o ts'el'onh. Doo',
denaaye! nohudenaadlenen.

"Ho noyeh t'aasee," nee dehoon
hedonotaadletlet. Dehoon go bede-
naa' kkaa koon detlekts'e yuh yeh
kk'udaa hedaadletl'ee.

Dehoon go baahaa denaats'etl-
ghaal dukk'unnaatltsul dehoon go
bek'etleedeenen ts'o'ol, go yetaatl-
doggee. No'o laaldoy dzoghoteey
ots'enh neek'enaal'eenh.

Noyehts'e huts'e, "Ho go gonh
le'onh denh!" ts'ednee ts'e huy
ts'ehu'oyh eetl'ekk.

Some of the children rushed
back inside to their mother. The
man said, "My child, go in and get
the club."

They rushed back in while
K'etetaalkkaanee thought, "I
hope the club disappears." He
made it disappear.

"Dad, where is it?"

"Ask your mother!"

They asked their mother, but
she didn't know.

The bundle with K'etetaal-
kkaanee in it was sitting outside.
Doo', K'etetaalkkaanee had
made the man become careless.

"It's down there in the house."
he said angrily, as he rushed
inside. The children were all inside
the house too.

K'etetaalkkaanee broke the
straps that had bound him, and the
club he had made disappear
appeared in his hand. He hid
outside by the door.

He heard the man inside throw-
ing things around, saying, "It was
right here!"

Tleenohonhts'odeyeltl dehoon
yetleeyee k'edegheefnenh. Ts'uh
tleeheyhtl ts'e detlekt's'e yuh hu-
tlee' okko k'edetaatlnenh. At'eeylo
koon k'eelekk'ee yoo'en ledoy,
lo donggu nooyee ledoy. Dehoon go
k'uhdeeghunh. Ts'uh go yoo'en
ledoy ts'ebaa ken t'oh ledoy.
Hoodletseenh de gheel ledoy.
Baanh bugh no'eeldoyaa. Baanh
bugh nok'eedlekoodaa. Ts'uh
gheel taaltsaah. Taaltsaah. Etseh.
Kk'udaa dego yuh etseh ts'uhuyuh
uhte gheel go yuh denaantseyh
ts'aak'eneelenh. Nek'etlaahuloo
dentseyh okko teneyh. Ts'uh
dodugge ts'ebaa e'eneyh dehoon,
"Yegge don'te' naahaa huts'e
hutooneyh." At'eeylo koon ts'ebaa
k'edzaah laaghe.

Go daats'e heghe'en gheel go,
go yegge oonyeeyh ghu taak'ehetl-
'onh go Grandpa gheela' kkaa.
Uhte helde go Flora yet ts'eegudze.
O ts'uhuneyh zaa'ene. "Nugh
ts'ebaa k'edzaah oohkk'usge yu.
Nugh noghonoy uhonh." Huy-
ts'en' tuh koonh. Taak'etlkool.
Yegge lookke noghonoy hoolaanh
tuh. "Ts'ebaa k'edzaah oohkk'usk

The man rushed back out,
hunched over, and K'etetaalkkaa-
nee hit him over the head. He hit
all the others over the head, one
by one, as they came running out.
Apparently one of the girls was in
puberty, so she was staying in the
woods away from the house when
he killed the others. This girl was
staying in a lean-to under a spruce
tree. The girl's mother had not
come back to her for a long time.
Her mother had not brought her
any food,¹ so she began to cry. She
began crying. She cried and cried.
As she cried, her nose began to run.
She wiped the mucus from her nose.
She rubbed it on the spruce tree
saying, "May you be something
useful from now on." Evidently it
was to become spruce pitch.

That is why, when my grand-
parents had a fish trap set for
blackfish, when Flora and I were
little but were able to understand,
they would tell us, "Don't chew
spruce pitch, because you have
something fresh to eat." In the
fall, too, when they had a fishnet
in the water, when there were
fresh fish, they would tell us,

1. Girls in puberty seclusion were forbidden to eat fresh fish and game because they might bring the hunters and hunting implements bad luck. A girl's mother usually brought her specially prepared food while she was in seclusion.

yu." Go helde yoo'en ledoy nek'e-
tlaahuloo, go dzaah. Ts'uh lookk'e
noghonoy ts'ehonh te sofk'usgaa.
Tl'ogho hunonits'e uhts'e huk'ode-
naaheneeghee'enh. Yegge oon-
yeeyh ghu taak'el'onh tuh k'edee-
teey. Dokk'o yoo'en yaats'en te
gheel go teey baabe hooldlaa'aa.
"Koyh, nedaakoon ts'ebaa k'e-
dzaah oohkk'usk yu," denaa'ehed-
nee go helde go yoo'en ledoy
dek'enetlaahuloo aahaa ts'ebaa
egh'neyh. Ts'uh yoogh ees yuh
nu'unledlenh. At'eeylo baahaa
ts'eeyh todedzaah dehugh go,
"Yegge donle' naahaa huts'e
hutooneyh," yelnee.

Ts'uh etseh. Ts'ebaa yuh etlee-
ts'eghedeneelyonh. At'eeylo koon
ho yoogh ts'ebaa enee'on yegge
ees "yoo'en ledoy tlee." At'eeylo
koon eeydee laaghe. Ts'uh kk'udaa
eeydee ets'eldlaat. At'eeylo yoo'en
ledoy ote ledoo dehoon go kk'udaa
nodo' haanodeedekkaanh. Kk'udaa
nodo' needze ghekkaat.

"Don't chew spruce pitch." The
pitch came from a girl in puberty.
For that reason, we are not sup-
posed to chew pitch when we have
fresh fish. They used to watch us
closely for that, especially when
they had traps set for blackfish.
Usually when you fish in the late
winter there is not much food.
"Grandchildren, do not chew the
spruce pitch," they would tell us,
because this girl wiped it on the
tree from her nose. You can see it
where it runs off the trees. It is used
for sealing canoes, and this is
evidently the reason that she said,
"May you be useful from now on."

She cried. Soon her head grew
onto the tree. Apparently her head
became a spruce burl. These burls
are called "yoo'en ledoy tlee."²
That is what she was to be. That is
what she became. While this was
happening, K'etetaalkkaanee took
off again downriver. He paddled
and paddled downstream.

2. "The secluded one's head."

Taahgoodze Tl'en Gḥu
K'enaaneektl'eł Denh
When He Shot an Arrow
Into Mink's Leg



Needze ghekkaaf, needze ghekkaaf. Ts'uh donggu hun tso dol'onh denaa kkelaa denh. Nee-ghoneekkaan. Ts'uh daangge totaalyo.

Huyet hun donggu hun koon leeckkaa. At'eeylo ggaagge kuh leeckkaa bedzoten ghu henleket, go tso aahaaghedenaaneeton ghu neek'o-ts'ene. Degedze hugh neelts'aa-gheeldaatl dehoon nodegge dodlegok. Tso yee dolyo. Huyet go hun loock'e. Go hulookk'ut te hut'aanh nedaats'e huk'elookk'e go, go hun yuh dleghaal tso yee doldlo.

Go neeflot don ees go nohuhul-nek ts'e hukk'aatugh dleghaal helde yendeegheegudzaa hednee. Eey go ts'eedaahaa hool'onh deheghe'ene. Dleghaal yoze Grandpa gheela' ees degheene'. O go k'aalt'oodze yaan' aahaa koon k'elghaal.

Ts'uh go dleghaal yoze gheel oolneek dehoon et'eeylo nodo dots'en

He paddled and paddled downstream. He came to a cache. No one was there. He paddled ashore and began to walk up the bank.

He realized that some dogs were there. The dogs were big animals and were tied to the cache posts on either side of the ladder.¹ He took his mittens and threw one to each dog, and then he ran up into the cache. He went into the cache. There were some fish. They might have been springtime fish, but there were bundles of fish there.

They say that when people bundled fish long ago, the bundles were very small. That way they could ration the food. My late grandpa said that people used to make small bundles during hard times. The bundles were also small because they used only willow bark to bundle them.²

He took one of these small bundles. Apparently there was a

1. The "dogs" were in fact bears.

2. Willow bark is not very strong, so it could not have bound a big bundle.

Taahgoodze Tl'en Ghu
K'enaaneetl'el Denh

tl'ee hutlenh ghu k'edaadletl'ee.
Ts'uh kk'udaa dodo' needze
notaalekkaanh.

Dodots'e hun koon taahgoodze
noltl'e'tl. At'eeylo, "Taahgoodze,
nonee tso ghunnondo. Nonee lee-
kkaa dodnee," hey'nee, go nohu-
tolnek hey'neeyee. Kk'odenotl'en
yaakk'aa ts'aadanaaneel'ghel aahaa
yooneek'enh. Eekk'ok. Yedzoten
ghu k'enaaneetl'el. K'ets'e nono-
daadlenenh. Ts'uh nodo' ekk'o---yh.

Nodo' ghekkaal. Neeghots'e-
neekkaanh. Ts'uh go leggun ts'ool-
neege eeydee gheel nosaaldon'.
Nodo' huts'en'. Yoodo huts'e nee-
nok'eede'kk'ok. Huyel dohudnee
eetl'ekk.

"Nugh solt'aanh uhudeeghee-
neek," ts'ednee ts'en'.

Kk'udaa eet tlede taaldlet
dehoon nodo huts'e kk'udaa yen-
ts'eetaale'yenh eetl'ekk. Kk'udaa
huyel hun K'ets'eghultoon lo go
nele neets'enee'ots eetl'ekk.

"Sek'edzeyaa yeehulaa

When He Shot an Arrow
Into Mink's Leg

fish camp down around the bend. He
began to paddle downriver.

A mink was running upriver on
the beach. Apparently the people
downriver had told her, "Mink, go
upriver to the cache and see why the
dogs are barking," wanting her to
tell them what had happened. He
took the arrowhead off an arrow
and shot the shaft at the mink.³ She
screamed in pain. He had hit her in
the leg. She turned around and ran
downriver, screaming.

He continued to paddle down-
stream. He landed and began to eat
the fish that he had taken. He
could hear the mink going down-
stream. She was still screaming,
but then it sounded as if she had
come to a stop. Then he heard
people making a clamor.

"This woman is hurt," they
were saying.

As the night passed he heard
people beginning to make medi-
cine. He heard the chickadee man
go to the center of the circle to
make medicine.

Apparently the chickadee man

3. He removed the arrowhead because he did not want to kill her.

eetoon," ts'edetaalnee. "Sek'edzeyaa yeehulaa eetoon," nee eehoo.

Kk'udaa hun koon, "Nenh koonaa'," ts'ednee eetl'ekk. Neef'enhedednee. Huyel hun koon k'eden nefneeneeyo eetl'ekk.

"Setaahooneefneek. Setaahooneefneek," ts'ednee.

At'eeylo lo noldul koon kk'udaa taafeyenh.

Huyel kk'udaa koon, "Nenh koonaa'," neef'ehedednee eetl'ekk. Eeydee, "Yoonaane loolooloolooloo," nee eehoo. At'eeylo efkeeh doldoye, koon ghedeyenh eehoo. Huyel hun kk'udaa koon kk'udaa, "Nenh koonh," yegge denaa koon ehednee eetl'ekk.

Huyel hun, "Seeyaan' setlee' hoolaanh kk'e desehefaanh hu haa bedzege naal'on sets'e etlaak'ehe-nofteel. Seeyaan' setlee' hoolaanh kk'e desehefaanh hu haa bedzege hukk'e naal'on sets'e etlaak'ehenofteel," ts'edetaalnee'.

began to sing, "Sek'edzeyaa yeehulaa eetoon," he sang. "Sek'edzeyaa yeehulaa eetoon," he sang in vain.

Then K'etetaalkkaanee heard them saying to each other, "Why don't you try?" They were talking to each other. Then he heard another one go out to the center.

"I have been pushed under water, I have been pushed under water," he sang.⁴

Evidently it was the great gray owl who was making medicine.

Then he heard someone say to another, "How about you?" The other one sang, "Yoonaane loolooloolooloo," but to no avail. Apparently it was the boreal owl. He tried to make medicine, but it had no effect. Then K'etetaalkkaanee heard them say to someone else, "Why don't you try?"

"As if I were the only powerful one, they are offering me a bag of oil filled to the navel. As if I were the only powerful one, they are offering me a bag of oil filled to the navel."⁵

4. The speaker meant that he could not help the mink; K'etetaalkkaanee's power was too great.

5. Bags used to be made out of skins, and a bag of oil was considered quite valuable. A bag

"Go helde seeyaan' huyel
eseneyh kk'e desehe'laanh hu haa
sets'etlaak'eheno'teel," nee ts'en'.
Go huyel deneyh. Huyel hun
benok'eetaadledzeyh. Benok'eetaa-
dledzeyh. Huyel ts'eenaadlegeet.
At'eeylo, negoodzeghe. Yegge
gheel eey hootl'elts'e dedneehee.

Huyel hun yoodo' huts'e, "Heee'
Sekoy hootl'elts'e buhdeegheeneek
eenhde kk'odehun' yoonets'e too
kk'e donok'ot'ot' ts'e Taakk'oolt'aan
ts'aatokkaal. Eedenh yaan' yugh
neetoneyhtl lonh," yelnee.

Doo', bekk'aa hoolneek. Eena-
dlegeet. Hoozonhts'e be' ts'eneel-
teelaa.

Dehoon kk'adaa nodo' needze
taalkkaanh, kk'odehun'. Too kk'e
donok'ot'ot' go debezegheenee'
ts'en'. Kk'odehun' te gheel eey
yoonets'e too kk'e donok'et'oyh
saanh te uhdehoot'aa. Kk'adaa
nodo' needze ts'okkaal.

That was his way of saying,
"They are offering me a bag of oil
filled to the navel, as if I were the
most powerful one here." He was a
powerful medicine man. While he
was singing, light began to flash on
K'etetaalkkaanee. It shined on him,
on and off. K'etetaalkkaanee began
to be afraid. Apparently it was a
great horned owl chanting. You
know what a loud voice he has.

Then the owl said, "Oh! My
grandchild is badly hurt, but when
the sun rises over the water tomor-
row *Taakk'oolt'aan*⁶ will come out
from around the bend upriver. Only
he will be able to help her."

Doo', K'etetaalkkaanee had
been discovered. He was frightened.
He did not sleep well that night.

The next morning he started
paddling downriver again. As the
sun rose, it shone on the surface of
the water, just as they had predicted.
You know how the sun shines on the
water early in the morning in the
summer. He paddled downstream.

filled to the navel would have been about half full. The speaker was indirectly asking his spirit-helpers for aid. In effect, he was saying to them, "I've been given something valuable by these people who have faith in my medicine power, so please don't let me down."

6. *Taakk'oolt'aan* means "resident of *Taakk'oolt*," a distant place upriver. The owl is referring to K'etetaalkkaanee here by his place of origin.

Ts'uhu kk'udaa, "Yooneets'e ees
kk'udaa ts'aats'eneekkaanh,"
nodo huts'e hednee eet'lekk.
Lo'ts'e ts'eneiget. Ts'uh huyet-
deneyhne eet daadlet'ee.

Nodo' needze ts'okkaal.
Kk'udaa dotlee hebetlee neegho-
ts'eneekkaanh.

"Heee'! Solt'aanh bugh hootse-
nenh uhdeegheeneek. De gen koon
det'aanh?" beeznee.

Eet ts'edletonh. Ts'eneiget.
Notlee neeghots'eneekkaanh.
Huyet hun, "Heee'! Nedaats'e
hogho deduhnee. O tlaa zee sugh
nukk'uduhkkoyaa'," beeznee. Eey
hel koon nelget.

Nonuhts'e kk'udaa nukkuhe-
yedeekkonh. Kk'udaa go ts'eyee
ts'eldo dehoon yuh beyet kk'e
dok'ets'edlekool. Ts'uh yedeldool
dehoon go dek'e kk'odenot'en
yekk'aa ts'aadeneeton yet nodee-
naaltset. Yedeteel'ee de yuh
degge daanoneeltset. Ts'uh naa-
degge, "Dzot no'oolst'et! Dzot
no'oolst'et! Nugh udenh ent'aa
eey deseeloh. Nugh ees udenh.
Nugh ees benyeet," yetnee dehoon

K'etetaalkkaanee heard them
saying, "There he is coming
around the bend, from upriver."
He was very frightened because
the people there were medicine
people.

He paddled downstream and
landed his canoe by the village.

"A very dear woman is hurt.
Who is it that came?" they asked
him.

K'etetaalkkaanee remained in
his canoe. He was afraid. He
stayed where he had landed.
"Well, I don't know if I will be
able to help. Why don't you bring
her down to me on a stretcher," he
said. It serves him right that he
was afraid.

They carried her down the
bank on a stretcher. Still sitting in
the canoe, he covered his head
and the mink woman's wound
with a cloth. He blew on the
wound and pulled out the shaft of
his arrow. Before he knew what
had happened, the mink jumped
up and rushed up the bank, saying,
"I got my leg back! I got my leg
back! He's the one. I recognize his
nose," she said while running up

Taahgoodze T'en Ghu
K'enaanoott'al Denh

nodegge... Doo', nodegge. Ne'e-
daanok'ets'eedeyel. Haanozeel-
ghel. Eet helde tlede eelelaa. Eeyet
kk'udaa koon huyel oolkaanh.

When He Shot an Arrow
Into Mink's Leg

the bank. Doo', she rushed up the
bank. K'etetaalkkaanee quickly
pushed off the bank and fled. He
fled in fear. He did not spend the
night there, but paddled away.

Dotson' Deghuskk'oze Etlyeł Denh
When He Grabbed Raven's Beak



Ts'uh kk'udaa nodo' koon nee-
dze ts'okkaaʔ. Go eet neellot de
hut'aan yetaatl'-aanh? Nedaats'e
ghulaa'. Ts'e go kk'udaa go ede
det'aanh ts'e koon kk'udaa debee-
doy nooyee naaghedegges. Ts'uh
doogh hogholedlenh degheel de-
beedoy nooyee gheegges. Ts'uh
nodo' nokkokk'e taalyo. Ts'uh go
ede det'aan ts'e netlaahok'ets'ede-
naadletuʔ. Ts'uh eet ts'etlaanh.
Degge daadebet ts'e etlaanh
dehoon bentseyh delzees. Kk'udaa
eeyet ts'etlaanh.

Aadots'e hun baats not'uhtl. Eet
degge daadebet ts'e ts'eltaa---nh.

Huyet hun, "Doyeh k'etlaanh.
Doyeh k'etlaanh," ts'edetaalne',
go baats.

Huyet hun bekk'e huts'e hun
koon, "Eee! Hudok'edee beleel
leeltson?" dodeenee. Go "dok'edee
beget leeltson?" dodeenee beeznee
ts'en'. At'eeylo koon k'eget yaan'
tohon' ts'en'.

1. It was Raven.

Once again, he was paddling
downriver. He must have seen a
raven from far away. As usual, he
landed and dragged his canoe
back into the woods. He dragged
his canoe into the woods at the
upper end of a sandbar on the edge
of the river, and he began to walk
down on the sandbar. As he had
done before, he gave himself a
nosebleed and threw himself
down. He lay motionless on his
back, his nose bleeding. He lay
there as if he were dead.

A sea gull was flying upriver
toward him. He just lay there on
his back, motionless.

The sea gull started saying,
"There's something dead below.
There's something dead below."

A voice came from behind the
sea gull. "Hey! Did you notice its
smell?" it asked. "Did you notice
whether it was rotten?" Appar-
ently it said that because it liked
only spoiled food.¹

"Oho'," beeznee. Go baats'en-leget, go baats. Dehoon go yuh udenh tlaahu kk'udaa he! naaye-gge gheel bugh nok'ets'eghee-kkuuyh. At'eeylo lo dotson' go deneeyee go k'uhkk'e not'uhdlee. Dehoon baats helde k'eltaanh.

Kk'udaa bugh nok'ets'eghee-kkuuyh. Ts'uh no'o ts'eneefaanh. O do'o ts'etltaanh. Denaantseyh ts'aalekkongheeleen' lonh, ts'e yuh dehoot'aa. Yoo'en bets'e netlaats'el-kkooyh, netlaats'elkkooyh. "Ti'ogho dok'edeet?" ts'oodnee. Ti'ogho yuh ts'ootaadleyonh dehoon kk'udaa benogh tlaahu ts'eetaaltlel. Dehoon yedeghuskk'oze etlyel. Zaadleggaakk dehoon nodegge, dedeghuskk'oze edeenh.

"Hu! Nedaanh tl'eegho yelee! etltson, go ehe deyneeeyee," ts'edetaalnee'. Dehoon baats gheel yoogh kk'ots'enaat'oh, go neget aahaa. Kk'udaa, "Nedaa', nedaa', eey sedeghuskk'oze," beeznee. "Setl'onone'oyh!"

"Dotl'-aanh ts'en'? Nenh gheel eey baahaa senokk'u ts'aak'etaalee-tlaatl eehu hee," beeznee gheelhee.

"Yes," the sea gull replied. The sea gull was afraid of it. However, the raven was so greedy that it was the first one to land. Apparently the raven had come up from behind, while the sea gull found K'etetaalkkaanee.

The raven landed near K'etetaalkkaanee and looked at him. He sure looked dead. He looked as if his nose had been bleeding. The raven inspected him timidly, preparing to peck at him. "Is he really dead?" the raven wondered. Poised to fly off, the raven pecked at an eye with its beak.² Just as it pecked, K'etetaalkkaanee grabbed its beak. The raven said "CGAACK!" and flew off without its beak.

The raven began to complain, "Huh! Did he really smell something dead before he announced that?" The sea gull was flying around far away because it feared the raven. The raven begged K'etetaalkkaanee, "Give it to me, give it to me. Give me my beak! Give it back to me."

"Why should I? You are the one who was going to chop out my eye with it," K'etetaalkkaanee told

2. The *denaakk'e* verb *-llet* actually means "to chop" rather than "to peck." It is used here metaphorically to relate the raven's beak to a man's axe.

"Nenh gheel eey baahaa seetelaa-
leelghaan' eehuhee."

Lo'ts'eyuh, "Setl'onon'oyh."

Nonoo' debeedoy ghu nooyee
naaghedeyo. Ts'uh debeedoy ts'aa-
noneegges. Nodo' needze taal-
kkaanh.

Lo'ts'eyuh bedozelneeyaa.
"Nedaa' eey sedeghuskk'oze,"
beeznee. Lo'ts'eyuh betleekkk'e
kk'ots'enaat'oh.

"Nenh gheel baahaa destaal-
leen' eehuhee. Dehe'en gheel eey
desloghee," yelnee.

Lo'ts'eyuh, "Nedaa', nugh
nets'e nebaah taaghtltseel," yelnee.

"Dodeenee," yelnee.

Nodo' t'aanh. Go "Nedaa',
nedaa' eey sedeghuskk'oze," nee
eehu ts'uh.

Nodo' needze ghekkaal. Huyel
hun yoodots'e hun tl'ogho yuh
yaats'en yuh hulkk'ul dehoon yaa-
ts'en yuh hudenodetl'eestl. At'eeylo
baats yel dotson' yel. Tl'ogho no-
dots'e yuh hebaahaa yuh huk'aa
k'eeghedel kk'e dehoneel gheel-
hee, go dotson'. Kk'udaa dodeggu be-

him. "You are the one who was
going to kill me."

"Give it back to me!" the raven
begged repeatedly.

K'etetaalkkaanee walked into
the woods where he had left his
canoe, dragged it out, and started
paddling downriver again.

The raven never stopped plead-
ing with him. "Give it to me. Give
me my beak," it told him. It flew
around above him.

"You are the one who was going
to hurt me with it. That is why I
took it," he told the raven.

"Give it back or I will make war
against you," the raven told him.

"Go ahead," he replied.

The raven flew off downriver
having repeatedly begged him,
"Give it to me. Give me my beak."

K'etetaalkkaanee continued to
paddle downstream. Soon, on one
side of the river, there was nothing
but a white mass approaching him,
while on the other side, a black
mass was approaching. Apparent-
ly one side was a mass of sea gulls
flying toward him, while the other

fleeck'e dehoon tl'eeften' aahaa yuh
nok'etaatlbaatl. Nok'etaalbeyhtl.
Huyel go dotson' tlaahu daadle-
ggaagge nodo' kk'aaghe dodo'
t'aanh. Detlekt's'e nodo' zonh.

Ts'uh kk'udaa doogh zo koon
nonot'uhtl. Ts'uh, "Nedaa', eey
sedeghuskk'oze'," yetnee eehoo.
Lo'ts'eyuh, "Nedaa', nugh nedogh
notlaagheenaaghst'uhtl," yetnee.

"Dodeenee," yetnee.

Nodo' t'aanh. Dehoon needze
ts'okkaa. O yoogh neegho'ekkaayh
gheelhee. Yoodo— zo tlaa neelts'e
taal'o. Yoogh tlaaloofyeet hulaaghe
gheelhee. Tlaa neelts'e taal'o. Yegge
hun hede'ot yet neelts'e heyk'en-
t'uh. Ts'uh neeldeelgho notelguyh.
Neeldeegho notelguyh.

Nodo' needze ghekkaa. Kk'u-
daa eet doneets'e ghekkaa. Ne-
tsoo tl'aaghedekkon ehok'eede-
tseenh. Ts'uh yugh eedekk'aayh de

was a mass of ravens. The ravens
formed what looked like a black
cloud coming up from downriver. Just
as one of the ravens was right above
him, he shot it with an arrow. He
began to shoot them down one by one.
Then the raven said "GGAACK!"
and they all turned around and flew
downriver. The sea gulls followed.

After a while, the raven flew up
to him again and begged him, "Give
me back my beak," but it was to no
avail. "Give it back or I will block
your path with a canyon," the
raven told him.

"Go ahead," K'etetaalkkaanee
replied.

It flew off downriver again.
K'etetaalkkaanee continued to
paddle downstream. He must have
landed here and there. Far down-
stream there were steep cliffs on
either side of the river. Probably it
was to become a canyon. The bluff
protruded on both sides. The raven
and his wife were pulling on the
bluffs, which were moving in and out
like scissors. Each time they pulled,
the bluffs closed in like scissors.

K'etetaalkkaanee continued to
paddle downstream. Just before he
got to the canyon cliffs, he turned
himself into a *netsoo*

dodo' too yeets'e hoghaalkk'aayh.
Doo', nonee zo bekk'aatl'ot.

Kk'udaa lo'ts'eyuh, "Setl'o-
non'oyh."

Kk'udaa nodo' needze ghe-
kkaal dehoon kk'udaa lo'ts'eyuh
bedoyedeñeeye. Kk'udaa, "Nenh
gheel eey baahaa destaaaleelen'
eehuhee eenhde huyel bekk'aa
de'eent'aa daa' ghedehtl ts'en'
sedoghe toghudaal," yetnee.

"Eeydaa' yegge k'uhnotle ghe-
baal soo'oo'," yetnee. Nodo' t'aanh.

Ts'e doogh needze ghekkaal.
Needze ghekkaal. Huyel dodo hun
benotle yuh ghedehtl ts'en bedzeyh.
Go helde neelkk'aayegge denghe-
dolkuh ts'e gheel ghulaa' ghedehtl
ts'en' beeznee.

Ts'uh kk'udaa yugh neeghe-
kkaal. Naagheht'ul dehoon yuh
yedoghe neeneekkaan. Ts'uh go
k'uhunotle ghebaal yuh yee
k'eenaatlil'el, go tl'eehten' aahaa.

3. He turned into a creature the size and shape of a needle. *Netsoo tl'aaghekkone'* literally means "your grandmother's needle."

tl'aaghekkone'.³ He slipped
between the cliffs underwater and
surfaced on the other side, resuming
his normal shape. *Doo'*, the canyon
was behind him.

The raven kept begging him,
"Give me back my beak."

K'etetaalkkaanee continued to
paddle downstream while the raven
pleaded with him. "You are the
one who was going to hurt me with
it, but if you really want it back,
make a herd of caribou cross in front
of me," he told the raven.

"If I do, don't shoot the leader,"
the raven replied, and it flew off
downriver.

He paddled and paddled down-
stream. A little way below, a herd
of caribou began to cross the river.
Ghedehtl tsen' refers to a herd of
caribou of different sizes and ages,
with the largest animals in the
front and progressively smaller ani-
mals toward the back of the herd.

So he approached them. As
they were swimming across, he
paddled in front of them and took
aim at the leader with a bow and
arrow.

Huyel zaadleggaakk dehoon
yuh bets'enh hots'enodebets.
"Haa! Ho go k'uhunotleey soo'
beesnee denh!" daadeyoh.

Toyoltaal. Soohoonaneey koon
go toyoltaal dehoon go yedeghus-
kk'oze yuh yetleekk'e dol'onh. Go
kk'o'eetebaaye, go dotson'. Ts'uh
kk'udaa koon nonce huts'e koon
benozeenaalt'ukkk eet'lekk. Dehoon
baats yuh yetleekk'e huts'e detaal-
nee', benotle.

Nonce huts'e kk'udaa nosaate-
yenh eet'lekk.

"Leghegekkoole. Leghegekkoole
denh. Nuggu duh'raanh eey
duh'raanee," ts'edetaalnee'.

Nodo yuh honokkghee'oy yuh
netoyedegheeltaanh de neeghoto-
yeeneeltaanh. At'eeylo go toyoltaal
daa' yuh baats yenotle k'uhdeeto-
heel gheelhee, duhugh yuh yence
a a haa.

Ts'uh kk'udaa eet dodo' koon
kk'udaa ghekkaa.

The raven cried "GGAACK!"
and flew out from inside of the
caribou as fast as it could, scream-
ing, "Hey! Didn't I tell him not to
shoot the leader?"

The leader floated in the water,
dead. Of course K'etetaalkkaanee
had done it on purpose. He then
placed the raven's beak on the
floating caribou. Ravens do not
swim. K'etetaalkkaanee kept on
going, and he heard the raven
flying above the caribou in a circle.
The sea gulls covered the caribou
before the raven could get to it.

Again, K'etetaalkkaanee could
hear the raven making medicine.

"I do not float. I do not float.
Why don't you do what you must on
the ground?" the raven sang.⁴

Soon the caribou washed up
against a sandbar (but still away
from the shore). If it had kept
floating, the sea gulls would have
devoured it before the raven could
have reached it. Of course the
raven was worried about it.

Once again, K'etetaalkkaanee
paddled downriver.⁵

4. This was the raven's medicine song. He wanted to cause the caribou carcass to come ashore so that he could retrieve his beak and eat the meat.

5. K'etetaalkkaanee took some meat from the other caribou that he had killed.

Boogh Tleektl'en Bugh
Neeghodenaneeyo Denh
Where His Older Brother's
Skull Came Ashore to Him



Needze ghekkaał. Ghekkaał, ghekkaał. Yoodo huts'e ts'aanee-kkaanh de yoodo hun koon k'ek'eeze'oh. Dehoon nodo' needze ghekkaał.

Dehoon donłts'e doneets'e ghekkaał dehoon gheel, "Heee! Bezo yoonets'e ts'aats'eneekkaan hu ło notodeedetł'eets." Yegge hun go k'eleł nozeghee'uh. Aalnots'edenłtseet. Et'eeyło denaa leł go yellaaghee. Donggu hun saanh yeh hoolaanh. Kk'udaa neeghoneekkaan.

Ts'uh, "Hee! Denaa edenh de debaa koon det'aanh." Lo'ts'eyuh besots'eey aahaa. Kk'udaa, "Nugh k'etegheehon'," beeznee. Kk'udaa doogh baabe bugh neets'eneelo, nelaan ggunh yeł. Doogh hun koon łlooghaa naał beteghenaadedzaakk.

Ts'uh, "Doneets'e et'eght neeghonskkaan de nok'aaghesdon' ts'e ees go sedzogh dehoot'aa'aa," yelnee.

He paddled and paddled and paddled downstream. He came around a bend, where he saw someone tanning a skin. He paddled downriver toward her.

As he approached, the woman who was tanning the skin said, "Hey! No wonder the water turned black. Someone came out from around the bend." Quickly, she removed the skin that she was tanning from the post it was hanging over and rolled it up. Apparently she had been tanning a human skin. Behind her was a smokehouse. He landed there.

"Oh good! There are hardly any people around here. Who is it that came?" she said with great joy. "You're going to eat," she told him. She set out some food for him. There was some dried meat, and he saw some long, human hairs dried onto the meat.

He told her, "I stopped and ate upriver, so I'm not very hungry."

Boogh Tleelti'en Bugh
Neeghodenaaneeyo Denh

"Aa oho' eeydaa' ts'aale," nee.

Doogh bek'ets'oonaatlon' eehu
ts'uh doogh lo'ts'eyuh dots'oolaah.
Dehoon daangge nooyee saal'ots.
Huyel hun doogh hun yuh nooyee
tleeghedegges. Ts'uh ehu daangge
gheel taalyo. Daangge ghehoł.

Huyel dunggu hun benh daal-
'onh. Kk'udaa eet hedeeyo. Eet
lehaanh. Go uhdon huyel deneyh
hu noghodeneyhtl. Ts'uh eet
lehaanh.

Nedaaghe aanlets'e taaghe
kkaatl'oh hun koon denaa tlee'
neeghodenohol. Kk'udaa donlts'e
bets'e neeghoyedenaaneeyo.

Dehoon gheel, "Yeey! Tl'aaa',
dont'aanh koonh?" beeynee.

Yeneel'aanh. Huyel go hun
koon boogh t'aanh koon benotle
heyedeeyoy tlee', lo go dedneeyee.
At'eeylo hukke' neebelyeeneeltaanh
denh. Ts'uh eet ts'elaatlghaanh
denh. At'eeylo hebets'eldaal.
Dehoon nonggu benh ghu hun koon
yuh k'etlee' taah dodenaat'onh.

"Tl'aaa', tlaa zee dent'aanh ts'e
yegge eenaaleetaanh daa' le'on

Where His Older Brother's
Skull Came Ashore to Him

"Oh, okay. It's all right then,"
she replied.

She tried to feed him. She could
not do enough for him. He walked
back into the woods to relieve him-
self. A well-worn path led back
into the woods. He began to follow
it. He walked along.

Then he came upon a little lake.
He walked out of the woods and
went up to it. He knew about that
place, having dreamed of it before.
He stood there.

Then he saw a human head
coming toward him on the bottom of
the lake. It came ashore and
approached him.

It said to him sadly, "Oh no! My
dear, what are you doing here?"

He looked at it. Then he recog-
nized the head as that of one of his
older brothers who had left home
before him. That place was as far
as his medicine power had brought
him. He had been killed there.
Apparently many people had been
eaten and their skulls had filled
the lake.

"Dear one, even though it may
not help, when you go to bed, lay a

Boogh Tleeth'en Bugh
Neeghodenaneeyo Denh

nedzaay kk'e dodenceghoo'oi,"
yelnee.

Kk'udaa notlen ts'aanotaaleyo.
Ts'egheetsaah, go doogh tlee'
negheefaan'. Ts'aanots'eet'ots. Do-
tlee saanh kkuno hedonots'eet'ots.
Huyel denaagheneedee! Doduggu
hun koon bebedoy yuh let yekk'e-
'oodletl'oon'. Hets'etl'oonh. Ts'uh
gheel doogh zee ts'eldo.

Dehoon kk'udaa dzaan hughee-
let. Ts'uh kk'udaa heenaaltaanh.

Go yuh lo'ts'eyuh, "Sekkun' laa-
ghe," beeznee ts'e yuh dots'oolaah.

Ts'uh henaaltaanh dehoon go
le'on dedzaay tleekk'e dodenaal-
'onh. Dehoon bel hok'ets'edee-
naadledaakk.

Degge daanots'eelneek. Ts'uh
don't nok'eesaalkk'onh eetl'ekk.
Nok'ets'ekk'o. "Yeey', k'edeeteey
desloh," nee dehoon genee ghulaa'
aadaadlet'otl eetl'ekk. Kk'udaa no-
nots'e betse nonots'ot'ustl eetl'ekk
dehoon ts'eghetel'noyaa. Go ts'el-
taanh de yuh denaa'etl'ozaaletlut.

Where His Older Brother's
Skull Came Ashore to Him

rock over your heart," the head
told him.

K'etetaalkkaanee started to
walk back to the camp. Having seen
his older brother's head, he cried.
He came back out of the woods to
the camp. He went into the smoke-
house. What the devil! To his
surprise, his canoe was tied to the
racks. It was lashed down under
the roof of the smokehouse. He sat
around, not knowing what else to do.

The day had passed. They began
to get ready for bed.

She could not do enough for him,
saying, "You're going to be my
husband."

After they went to bed, he
placed a flat rock over his heart
and pretended to go to sleep.

The woman got up quietly. He
could hear her begin to sharpen
something. Indeed, she was sharp-
ening something. He heard a cutting
sound as she said, "Oh, I overdid
it." He lay still as he heard her
coming back over to him. She stood
over him and then sat down on him
as hard as she could.

Hudaadlets'eeck dehoon denaa-
dugh zoltl'et. Nedaats'e ghulaa'
haahaa denaa eghonh. Ts'e go
hutl'odedetlut, go saay kk'aant'aay
yel. Ts'uhu denaadugh zoltl'et.

"Hmhmhmh!" ts'ednee ts'e
doogh ts'aanohok'ezeellet. "He go
to uhdon yeekk'e nohoollet,"
ts'ednee.

Go solt'aanh doogh doghunaah.

Doogh mendogho holel, "Hu!
Atlebaa! Abaa setlee'. Go to hun-
k'uh dotaalne?' n'ee gheelhee.
"K'edeeteey hunlek'uh dehoon be'
neeghegetenh ts'e ees go setlee'...
Ho eey kk'odon doneets'e needze
gheskkaat de, aanee t'aanh too
naakk'udle ets'aadaaneellenh. Too
naakk'udle ghesenoon' daa' soo'u,"
nee. Kk'udaa, "Too soho ukkunho
haa'," beeznee.

Kk'udaa to'ts'eyuh go dots'oo-
laah. "Oho', heen'," ts'ednee. Ts'uh
too ghenee ts'etlyel yel gheel no-
tlen aanoo' huyoze neets'ence'ots
degheel, "Nedaadenh? Heen',
nedaadenh?" beeznee.

Something squeaked and she
fell off him, unconscious. I don't
know how she killed people, but
she sat on them with something
like a knife. She fell over, uncon-
scious.¹

K'etetaalkkaanee said,
"Hmhmhmh!" and pretended to
wake up. "Oh, is it morning
already?"

The woman acted strangely, not
knowing what to do.

Later in the morning
K'etetaalkkaanee said, "Whew!
It's hot! My head hurts. Why is
the weather so hot, anyway?" he
asked. "I got a headache from
sleeping in the heat. Yesterday,
when I was paddling downriver, I
saw a stream of cold water flowing
into the river. Maybe if I drink
some cold water it will help," he
said. Then he told her, "Why
don't you go up there to get some
water for me?"

She would do anything for him.
"Okay, honey," she said. She
grabbed something to put water in,
rushed down the bank, went a
short distance upriver, and asked
him, "Where? Honey, where?"

1. The blade was attached to her body. Evidently she broke it as she sat down on the rock.

Boogh Tleelti'en Bugh
Neeghodenaneeyo Denh

"Nonee noo' hu t'aasee. Nonee
noo' hu ent'aay dehaasnee," yelnee.

Yegge ede noo'ts'e k'ets'e nonol-
noyh ts'e tl'ool k'eelekk'ee neltsuk,
go nodeggu debeedoy. Kk'udaa,
"Heen' nedaadenh?" beeznee.

Ts'uh, "Nonee t'aasee. Nonee
eesee."

Noo'ts'e k'ets'e nonoghelnol
dehoon koon nok'enaatltsut. Kk'u-
daa yoonnee naa' hu needok'eghe-
dodenol. Dehoon kk'udaa ts'aa'e-
t'eey nonaatltsut.

Naagheghu'ltl dehoon ts'etlyet.
Go ts'aa deelooy et'aance. Ts'uh
notlee yuh too aayedaatlt'usk de
yeyee gheltluh.

Nonee, "Haa! Enaa sekkun'!"
Noneets'e huts'en'. Nodo' needze
taadledzel. "Enaa sekkun' nekk'e
tok'etl'enhghesebaatl," nee ts'e
nonee huts'e too daatlkots eetl'ekk.
Dehoon nodo' nedaats'e neck'eel-
dzet.

Needze ghelgheltl, dehoon
noye' koon degheelaan'. Ts'uh go

Where His Older Brother's
Skull Came Ashore to Him

"Way up there. Farther upriver
is where I mean," he answered her.

She kept asking where it was,
and each time she turned her back,
he cut one of the ropes that bound
his canoe to the smokehouse. Once
again, she said, "Honey, where?"

"Way up there. Up there."

She turned her back to him
again and he cut another rope. By
that time she was far upriver, still
asking where he meant. Then he
cut the last rope.

He caught the canoe as it fell.
He probably did not have many
things to put back in it. He rushed
down to the water, threw the canoe
into the water, and jumped in.

He heard her upriver, saying,
"Hey! My dear husband!" He
heard her following him. He began
to paddle downriver as fast as he
could. "My dear husband, I'm going
into the water behind you," she
said. He heard the water splashing
behind him as he paddled. He pad-
dled as fast as he could a long time.

As he went downriver, he
caught some beaver, but he was

k'edeeteey hugho'eetenaaltsonh
bel aahaa dent'aa. Ts'uh go, "Tlaa
go k'eelugh kk'e k'edeetaaghge-
leyhtl," nee dehugh nokkokk'e nee-
ghoneekkaanh. Eet yuh hobelye-
gheeltaanh. Hootl'elts'e gheel bel
ts'eenaadledaakk. Yoogh yeekk'e
nohooldlet gheelhee. Yeekk'e
nobelk'ets'enaadletenh.

Ts'aanaaghedelet dehoon,
"Haa! Loghune. Ho k'aagheslaak
denh," yeneelenh.

Ts'uh doogh ghetaalnonh.
Huyel Huh! go hun koon gen tsel
bekot'e etetlaakk, et'eeyto go
solt'aanh.

Go hun koon noye' let ts'ede tl'es
bekk'e doletlaakk. Dokk'u nek'e
yuh ts'ede etitseenh, o go magic.

Eet kk'udaa yelaatlghaanh.
Kk'udaa eet dodo' koon kk'udaa
neek'ono'eedekkaanh. Ts'uh yoogh
ghekkaal.

very tired from lack of sleep. He
landed on a sandbar and thought,
"I'll just take a quick nap." He fell
asleep there and slept soundly.
The entire night must have
passed. He slept the entire night.

As he woke up, he thought,
"Oh, yes! I have to skin the
beaver that I caught."

He moved. Ugh! Something
wet and slimy was sleeping next to
him. It was that woman.

He was lying under a blanket
made of raw, wet beaver skins.
How fast she had skinned the
beavers and made a blanket! She
had done it with magic.

That is when he killed her.
Then he paddled off downriver
again. He paddled along.

Sołt'aanh Betl'ots'eyegheel'taanh
Ghenee Nesoogheetleyh
He Made a Grave for the Girl
Who Had Been Given to Him



Ghekkaał, ghekkaał, ghekkaał.
Kk'udaa koon yoogh ghekkaał. Hu-
yeł hun yoodo hun zaadlet'ee de
huts'e ts'aaneekkaan. Ts'uh nodo'
eet needze gheekkaan. Ts'uh
doogh tolyo. At'eeyło neelkkun'
kkaa hededena' kkaa yeł yoogh
saan hutlenh ghu heldo. Hutlen
ghu nehelneyh. Ts'uh kk'udaa
heyek'egheelon'. Ts'e doogh ledō.

Huyel hun, "Hu nedaaghe hu-
ts'enh koon denaats'e denaa hoo-
dee'u denh. Nedaaghe koon ghe-
kkaal det'aanh? Nugh ees denaa-
hudnaa' kk'udaa neekkuno hoto'ot
eenee' zeeyuh ledō de nedaats'e
ghekkaał koon det'aanh?" yelnee.
Go haahaa, "Kk'udaa nugh denaa-
denaa' eenkoot," yelnee ts'en'.
Eeydee ghu todo'. Ts'uh denaaghu
kk'otodeneyh yelnee duhughunh.

Ts'uh eeydee ghu taaldo'.
Yoogh ts'aa neellotts'e eet ghee-
do'ee. "Seyel kk'oneedekkaayh,"
go de'ot elnee, go solt'aanh.

Bence neeyeeneeyo, go sol-
t'aanh. Kk'udaa nodo' aado' yoogh

He paddled and paddled and
paddled. Once again he was pad-
dling along. He paddled around
the bend and came upon a camp.
He paddled up to it and went up
the bank. A man and wife were
living there with their children.
They were fishing. They fed him.
He stayed there for a while.

"There are hardly any people
around here. Where did he come
from? How did he happen to come
here? We have a daughter here
who is still not married. How did
he happen to come here?" the man
said. That was his way of asking
K'etetaalkkaanee to marry his
child. He wanted him to marry
her so that K'etetaalkkaanee
could provide for them.

K'etetaalkkaanee began to
stay with her. He probably had
not stayed very long when he told
his wife, this girl, "Come travel
with me."

The girl got into the canoe
behind him. He paddled down-

Soh'aanh Betl'ots'eyegheeltaanh
Ghenee Nesoogetleyh

neeneekkaanh. Degheel tlaa nee-
ghoneekkaanh.

Ts'uh, "Tlaa gonh daaso'ustl,"
yelnee.

Ts'uh naangge taahel'ots. Tl'o-
doggu haahel'ots. Ts'uhu doogh
ts'ebaa ken ghu gheel genee ghu-
laa' taaltseen'. Hultsee. "Tlaa eey
gonh haanaaneendo haaa'," yelnee.

Ts'uh eet huyee gheeyo. Ts'uh
haanaaneedo. Huyel gheel edetugh
de'celtaa'aa.

"Oho'," nee.

Ts'uh go dosto'e'faanh yenee-
lenh. Huyo ede needoy gheelhee.

Ts'uh kk'udaa yoogh koon tl'ee
yugh kk'o'eedeneeyh. Ts'uh kk'u-
daa koon, "Hodee, tlaa eey beyee
nondoyaaa'," yelnee. Nonee yuh
hukk'aatl'o haanaaneedo ts'e kk'u-
daa dehooloh.

Ts'uh go yet yuh yoogh yeloot
ghu k'edaaneeyel gheelhee. Do-
yeeloh eehu yelaatlghaanh. Ts'uh
eet yuh haanaaneedo, go yeghenee

He Made a Grave for the Girl
Who Had Been Given to Him

river, going a short distance. He
paddled ashore.

"Let's get out here for a while,"
he told her.

They went up the bank, up to
the top of the bank. He began to
make something at the foot of a
spruce tree. He made an enclosure.
"Sit here and lean back against the
tree," he told her.

She went inside the enclosure
and leaned back against the tree,
but it was not the right size for
her.

"Okay," he said.

What did she think he was
doing? She probably was not very
smart.

He resumed working on it.
Then he said, "Okay, why don't
you sit in it one more time." He
made it so that she could sit com-
fortably against the wall of the
enclosure.

Then he must have stabbed her
in the throat. He killed her in some
way. The body was still leaning
against the tree in the soos that he

Solt'aanh Betl'ots'eyegheeltaanh
Ghenee Nesooogheetleyh

soos etitseenh denh. Go helde yoo-
ghedon kk'edonts'ednee huyel
neef'eneeholneyh ts'ednee ts'en'.

Yoogh haaf yee kk'e dehoot'aa
de huhultseeyh. Ts'uh eet huyee
haaneethenleyaayh. Go kk'udaa
haahaa kk'el neef'aahelneyh ts'en'.

Uhdeyeeloh. Ts'uh aado'
huyoze neeneekkaan. Ts'uh go
ede det'aanh ts'e debeedoy nooyee
gheegges. Ts'uhu kk'aaghe ts'aa-
no'eedeyo. Ts'uh dotlee donee too
tleekk'e tenaal'oy ghaaghedeeyo.
Ts'uh eeydee tleekk'e oodlek'ee---t.
Hok'oodol'aan'. Aanoo' nohun-
le'eeyh.

Huyel yoneets'e zo kk'udaa
ts'aats'eneekkaan. At'eeylo neef-
lots'e hebaaholef. Ts'uh hebekk'aa
ts'egheekkaan, go solt'aanh beto'.
Huyel gheel aants'e aaneets'e ghe-
kkaaf. Huyel aado hun eet hutaatl-
'aanh.

"Yeey'! Sedenaa' dokk'u soo'
deheyeeloh hu yoodo zo yeghenee
nesooogheefo." Go K'etetaalkkaa-
nee eelaatlghaaf beeznee
duhughunh, nee gheelhee. Go
beyee nehooldlet ts'uh.

He Made a Grave for the Girl
Who Had Been Given to Him

had made for her.¹ It is said that
they used to bury each other in this
way long ago and in Story Time.

They built lean-tos, as we do for
traps, and put each other into
them. That is how they buried
each other.

That is what he did to her.
Then he went a little farther down-
stream. As usual, he dragged his
canoe back into the woods. He
walked back out of the woods. He
walked upriver a short distance
and climbed into a tree that
extended out over the river. He
stretched out on it. He was watch-
ing. He kept checking upriver.

Soon someone paddled out from
around the bend. Apparently the
girl's father was looking for them
because they had been gone a long
time. He crossed the river as he
paddled downstream. Then he saw
the enclosure.

"Oh no! How quickly he made a
grave for my child." This was his
way of saying that he intended to
kill K'etetaalkkaanee. He was
furious.

1. A Soos is a circular lean-to that was used long ago for burials. It was built either against a tree using the trunk as a main support, or out in the open. The body was placed within the lean-to in a sitting position.

Noneets'e zo yetleets'en ootaal-
kkaanh go bekk'aa taaghsikkaal
yefnee duhughunh. Ts'uh gheel
soot'e huyel deneyh kk'aant'aa
gheelhee. Ts'e go dotloogh donee-
ts'e dehoon kk'udaa toyoltaal.
Needze toyoltaal.

Ts'e go edenke t'leedegge
hunee'aaanee? Go dets'oodenee
ts'en' doyeggu taah hunee'aanh.
Soot'e yuh gen ghulaa' taatl'aanh
kk'aant'aa. Doogh kk'elts'e eet
hunee'aanh. Huyel doyehts'e kun
koon taah beyenee'aanh.

Ts'uh go baaneyh gheelhee
genee eehu etlyel. Ts'uh t'ogho
yuh naayegge yuh eeydee yel yuh
taanaalt'el. Honotoyegheetuts.

Ts'uh dodo' debeedoy naa'etl-
yel. Doogh hunee'aanh eehoo eenh
go dets'oodnee ts'e t'lee degge
tleetelt'oyaa. Kk'udaa nonoo' koon
neeno'eedekkaanh. Ode deghee-
t'aa'. Ts'uh kk'udaa go, "Tlaa eey
helde soo' koon notaaghege'et,"
yeneelenh.

Kk'udaa koon go kk'udaa
t'ogho yuh yokko hunee'aanh.
Dehoon gheel baahaa honotose-
totlitaalaa yefneey le'on taaneets
nok'enaaneehoot, le'on neteck'ee.

He started to paddle downriver
past K'etetaalkkaanee, planning
to follow him. He must have sensed
that K'etetaalkkaanee was nearby
because he stopped paddling and
drifted in the water.

Didn't he look up? K'etetaal-
kkaanee willed him to look down
into the water. He thought he saw
something, so he looked over the
side of his canoe and saw
K'etetaalkkaanee looking up at
him from the water.

Then the man grabbed his spear
from behind him and dove into the
water. Soon he floated back up to
the surface.

The man went downstream and
retrieved his canoe. He looked
around where he thought he had
seen him, but nothing was there.
Just as K'etetaalkkaanee had
willed, the man never looked up.
He paddled back upstream and
waited for a while. "I wonder if I
will see him again," he thought.

He looked around for him
again. So that he would not float
up to the surface so quickly this
time, he tied two rocks together.
He floated in his canoe, looking

Solt'aanh Betl'ots'eyegheeltaanh
Ghenee Nesoogetleyh

Ts'uh kk'udaa ehu toyoltaat.
At'eeylo koon noduggu deyenenh
kuh deyoodnee ts'en'. Ahu toyol-
taat. Go ede neenotobeltaayh de
neenotoboltaat dehoon nedaa do-
yeh hun beyeneel'aanh. Go le'on
neteeekk'ee yetaaneets nok'ena-
neehool dekk'u! nedengheeldaatl.
Dehoon noyegge...

Taaghedeluk. Doo', honotode-
naa'eeltaalaa. Daats'e gheel go
heghe'en deyenyooyoogh debaa
ghu kk'oheedeneeyh tuh taah he-
deyeege heenotl-'aanee tl'ok yee
eenhdenh. Go helde eet yuh
hukk'e naal'onh go denaa dehe'en.
Grandpa gheelaa' ees tl'ogho uhts'e
ts'ohooodeegheelt'e. Ts'uh go helde
koon uhts'e hultsee ts'e gheelhee.
Uhts'e k'ehegheenole duhughunh.

Doo', dekk'u! nele'ondengheel-
daatl. Nonaaghdeyo. Ts'uh kk'u-
daa nodo' debeedoy ghu neeno'ee-
deyo. Ts'uh kk'udaa uhts'e haahaa
koon kk'udaa go solt'aanh laatl-
ghaanh, go beto' koonh. Ts'uh
kk'udaa yoogh eet dodo' koon
ghekkaal. Needze ghekkaal.

He Made a Grave for the Girl
Who Had Been Given to Him

down into the water, as the big med-
icine man, K'etetaalkkaanee, had
willed him to do. He drifted along.
He kept drifting to the same place.
Then he saw K'etetaalkkaanee
looking up from below again. He
grabbed the rocks that he had tied
the rope around, threw the rope over
his neck, and jumped in the water.

He was pulled under by the rocks.
Doo', he did not come back up. This
is why, when medicine people are
working on someone, they instruct
that person not to look at his own
reflection, even in a pan. It is
because of what happened in this
story. My late grandpa did not like
his patients to see their own
reflection when he worked on them.
The practice was being established
for the future. Looking at the
reflection could have a negative
effect.

Doo', this man killed himself
by tying rocks around his neck and
jumping into the water.
K'etetaalkkaanee came down from
the tree and went back to his canoe.
That is how he killed the girl and
her father. Then, once again, he
paddled downstream.

Boogh Tson' Gheneede
Gh̃ Neekkaanh Denh
When He Came to
His Enslaved Older Brother



Ghekkaaf, ghekkaaf. Kk'udaa koon yoogh nodo' ts'aaneekkaan. Huyel hun yoodo hun huts'e de-hoodeyoh. At'eeylo lo saanlaaghe-doh. Kk'udaa tl'ogho hutlenh ghu nelneyh. Kk'udaa nodo' eet needze gheekkaan. Denaa hoolaan.

Huyel hun doogh beggenaa' een hun, "Once'," yetnee. Ts'uh eet, "Ggenaa, k'etegheehon'," yetnee. Ts'uh kk'udaa no'o eet neeheneedaatl. Huyel denaa hoolaan.

Gheel yuh k'eelde yennok'eheetaa'deegge yoogh hebeldon' gheel-hee. Ts'e go kkunotl'ohedaadle-tl'ee' degheenee' go Grandpa gheela' yugh nohulnek denh. Kk'udaa nonl yenk'eheeheeyh. Lo'ts'e loo-kk'e nekogh enolneek.

Genee detlege yenheeheeyh. Huyel yegge yeggenhyoze hun ekee hodelyoh. Nonl yenk'eedeeyh dehoonh. Yoogh go gen k'ek'el yee hetodetl'oo'.

Huyel gheel hun, "Ho no'o tson' gheneet begheenee ukku-'uh'os," beeznee.

He paddled and paddled. Once again, he came out from around a bend. He came around the bend to a settlement where there were many people. Apparently it was a fish camp. The people were putting away lots of fish. He paddled to the camp. Many people were there.

Then a friend said to him, "Come here! Friend, you are going to eat," he told him. Many people were gathered at the place where they were going to eat.

They were all starting to eat. My grandpa used to say that they all sat in a circle. They ate. They had cooked a lot of fish.

While they were eating, a baby made a mess. What clothes did the babies have to wear?

Somebody said, "Send for the person who cleans up such messes."

"Hudaa! Gen soo' koon doznee,"
yeneelenh. Ts'e doogh eet ledoo. Go
yenk'ehcheeyh dehoon saakkaay
ekee hodelyoh.

Denaagheneede! Nedaa yegge
do'ots'e hun koon boogh de'aat'on
beghok'eghaalk'el yok'aa---I hunde
koon gheho! Heee"! Yegge hun
yugh neeneeyo ts'uh doogh de'aa-
t'on k'el baagh huneel'aanh. Huyel
gheel hun go k'ek'el gheel go neel-
ts'aatolk'eldlaa, eenh go yuh k'edee-
teey tlogeey aahaã gheel yuh etlaah
gheelhee. Ts'e go doogh de'aat'on
yedegheelk'el, tege aahaa hun, go
yeggenhyoz huyee ts'aataatltaan.

Dehoon hun benogh yegge
nu'untotodaa!, go K'etetaalkkaa-
nee. Degge daaneeltset. Ts'uh yuh
no'o yeggenhyoze etlyel yuh yeel-
tu! gheelhee. Doyeelo eehu. Ye-
laatlghaanh. Huyel k'ets'e neehoo-
neelet. K'uhudeeghunh. Go saan-
laaghedoh daadletl'eey detlege
yuh ehudeeghunh. Doogh yeen'
k'edogheeltaan.

"Yee! Ketl'aa, kk'udaa huyaanh'
huk'ots'en setl'ok'elkek ts'e ent'aa
yegge... Go lo dotaaghsneel
dehugh go saak'uhdeenghunh?"

At'eeylo lo koon boogh k'eden
hukk'e neeneetaanh denh.

"I wonder what they mean,"
K'etetaalkkaanee thought. He just
sat there. The baby had made a
mess while the people were eating.

To his surprise, his pitiful older
brother walked up wearing an old,
dried up parka. Pieces had been
torn from it. Oh dear! He walked
up to the baby and looked for a
piece he could tear from his parka.
A skin is not easy to tear, but this
one was so old and dry that it tore
easily. He tore off a piece and
began to clean the baby with it.

When K'etetaalkkaanee saw
this, tears flowed from his eyes. He
jumped up and kicked the baby or
did something to it. He killed it.
There was a big fight and he killed
everybody. He killed everybody at
the fish camp. The only person he
spared was his brother.

"Oh, no! My younger brother,
that was the only way I could get
food. What am I going to do now
that you have killed everyone?"

Apparently that was as far as
his other older brother had

Boogh Tson' Gheneede
Ghu Neekkaan Denh

Kk'udaa hukk'e neebeyeneeltaanh
de udeek'e yuh baahaa hool'onh
denh.

Kk'udaa, "Ts'aal senee neete-
gheehol," yefnee.

Kk'udaa nodo' yeyel neek'onee-
kkaan. Neteehde yeyel hegheno-
lekkaan. Hun dek'ets'ekkaah
eehoo. Bebeedo' hedletenh kk'aa
deyoh. Lo'ts'eyuh dek'ekkaah
eehoo.

Donggu neeghoneekkaan.
Ts'uh eet nok'ehodon'. Eet heghee-
do'. Kk'udaa kk'oyenee'eedeleet.
Kk'udaa hun doogh ghu taaltsaah.

Dek'ek'eente! k'eelekk'ee haade-
neetonh. "Tlaa eey koon senee
neenoneedoyh," yefnee. Koonkoon
boogh benee neeno'eedeyo.

Yoogh do'eet'aa'aa ts'e koon-
koon aado' eet hel koon hegheno-
lekkaan. Dehoon go ede det'aanh
ts'e koon koon henodletenh kk'aa
deyoh. Lo'ts'eyuh dek'ekkaah
eehoo. Tledo'eelkkaayaa.

Kk'udaa koon neeghonoheede-

When He Came to
His Enslaved Older Brother

traveled. He had traveled that
far in his spiritual journey before
he met his demise.

K'etetaalkkaanee told him,
"It's okay, you can sit behind me."

His brother sat behind him and
they took off downriver. He went
around two bends with his brother.
Then he could not go any farther;
he paddled and paddled but did
not move. It was as if his canoe
were frozen in place. He paddled
and paddled, but to no avail.

He paddled ashore, where
they ate and stayed awhile.
K'etetaalkkaanee thought and
thought. Then he began to cry for
his older brother.

He removed one crosspiece from
his canoe. "Okay, let's try again.
Get behind me," he told his older
brother. Once again, his brother
got into the canoe behind him.

He left and went around one
bend without any difficulty. Then,
as before, it was as if the canoe
had frozen in place. K'etetaal-
kkaanee paddled in vain. The
canoe was not going anywhere.

They paddled ashore and

kkaanh. Kk'udaa eet koon hegheedo'. Kk'udaa k'eenteŋ k'eelēkk'ee koon haanodeneetonh. Kk'udaa k'eenteŋ netēekk'ee haadeneetonh.

Ts'uh kk'udaa go ede det'aanh ts'e neek'ono'eedekkaanh. Yoogh do'et'e ts'e aado' heghenolkkaanh. De dodo' huyel koon heno'eenaale-neyh. Lo'ts'eyuh dek'ekkaah eehoo.

Kk'udaa lo'ts'e nedaats'e ghulaa' dughunaah. Neeghono'eekkaanh. Ts'uh doogh oho baabe denloh. Eet huts'enh en notodekkaak. Yoogh notodok huyel gheelhee.

Doogh ghu gheetsaah. Ts'uh kk'udaa doogh ghu haanodeede-kkaanh. Kk'udaa et'eeylo hukke kk'udaa boogh k'eelēkk'ee koon neebelneeltaanh denh. Kk'udaa nodo' koon haanodeedekkaanh.

stayed there awhile. Then he removed another crosspiece. He had removed two altogether.

As he had done before, he set off paddling. They went around one bend. Then he was stuck again. He paddled and paddled, but went nowhere.

He did not know what to do next. He paddled ashore and got some food for his brother. While there, K'etetaalkkaanee went out hunting in his canoe. Maybe he went hunting on foot too.

K'etetaalkkaanee cried for his older brother.¹ Eventually, he left. That place was as far as his brother had traveled in his spiritual journey. Once again, K'etetaalkkaanee paddled downstream.

1. K'etetaalkkaanee's brother could not go any farther down the river. His medicine power was not strong enough to get him past that village, nor could he go back upriver. He was stuck in that place. All K'etetaalkkaanee could do was leave him plenty of food.

K'oyeedenaa Yoo
Little People



Ts'uh needze ghekkaaf. Nee-
dze ghekkaaf. Needze ghekkaaf.
Kk'udaa saanh tl'oghots'e---n'. Dodo
hun koon kk'udaa saanlaaghedoh
hoolaanh de huts'e koon kk'udaa
ts'aaneekkaan. Nodot' eet neeghe-
kkaaf. Huyel hun aanggu hun koon
yuh neheghedenoh eenh k'uhgaal
yuh k'etettl-'eeyaa kk'aant'aa.

Nodot' eet huts'e ghekkaaf. Nee-
ghoghekkaaf.

Huyel hun yuh denaa soo' dee-
gudze. Yoogh yuh hebaahaa yuh
nuhudekk'unh kk'e duhut'aanh go
helonh ts'en'.

Ts'uh notlee neeghoneekkaan.
Do'oghe yuh kk'ohedenaadeggoot
dehoon, "Yeey"! Nugh kk'udaa
nots'e'neeggeey nonol'uyhtl. Kk'u-
daa tlaa eey odeek'e denaayel eey-
dee eenofaan'. Nugh bek'uhlonh,"
beeznee. Lo'ts'eyuh heyasots'eey
aahaa. Doogh lo'ts'eyuh yuh genee
ghulaa' baabe dool' kk'aant'aay
gheel heyegheelon'. Eet huyel ledot.

Huyel hun, "Oho", kk'udaa yoonet

He paddled and paddled down-
stream. It was late in the summer.
Once again, he paddled around a
bend to a fish camp. He was
almost there. It looked as if the
place was bustling with activity,
but he could not see anyone.

He paddled toward it and
went ashore.

Then he saw that they were
tiny people. There were so many
of them that they looked like a
flame moving around.

He landed on the beach. They
were everywhere and were
saying, "Hey! Remember that the
nots'e'neeggeey crosses here every
day.¹ Maybe he could help us
with it. Feed him," they said.
They were very happy to see him.
I don't know what they fed him.
It was like dust. He stayed there
with them.

"Okay, the sun is almost up at

1. *Nots'e'neeggeey* is the little people's word for caribou. It means "one that is rarely seen."

ees eet neenok'ot'ot. Kk'udaa
nots'e'neegeey nonodebaayh denh,"
hednee ts'e do'oogh hebeyee hool-
'onh gheelhee.

Nedaa aanots'e hun koon be-
dzezh hebaats'aadeeyo. "Nonots'e
eese! Kk'udaa nonotodebaa',"
ts'edetaalne.

Kk'udaa nonots'e naaghebaa.
Eenh gheel beyetaatl-'aanh daa'
kkunonodetodebaa' kk'aant'aa.
Ts'uh gheel yedeetaalkkaan. Ts'e
go daahenaah ts'e go ehdeek'e
k'et'on' beedoy yee yuh nonlugh
yuh tukkuhedegheeghe. Dehoon
nonaan yedaalkkaan. Ts'uh yeetl-
deyh.

Yeneeghok'etaatlkaan. Go
k'edeeteey helonh soohoonaneyh
yuh yetl'odetaaldok go dek'es-
kkaah nee ts'en', go bedzeyh de-
beedoy eyeetikel yet.

"Haa! Nugh betode ghu ede-
ghoyeneeghaaluhdeneek," ts'ed-
nee dehoon nonlugh zo yeggen
nozeghe. Nu'unzelenh hu yuh
go too denhebelee' gheelhee. Go
k'edeeteey helonh. Hedeelghos.

the place where the *nots'e'neegeey*
usually crosses the river," they
said, rushing about.

Soon a caribou came out to the
river on the opposite bank and
started to swim across. "There it is!
It's going to cross the river again,"
someone shouted.

It was swimming across. It
looked as if the caribou would turn
around if it saw him. K'etetaal-
kkaanee got into his canoe and
paddled up to it. What did they
think they were doing following
him? Many of them jumped into
their leaf canoes and covered the
water. K'etetaalkkaanee went up
to the caribou and shot it with an
arrow.

He began to pull it ashore.
There were so many of them. He
purposely began to bounce the canoe
as he paddled, on the pretext of
dragging to shore the caribou that
he had tied to the canoe.

"Hey! Watch out for his
waves," they said as they began to
capsize. They were tipping over
and drowning. There were a lot of
them. They were all yelling.

Kk'udaa no'o hukkuyeelgges. Kk'udaa lo'ts'eyuh do'ooghe yuh hebaahaa yuh neheghedenoh, go helonh ts'en'. Go solt'aanh gheel hun, "Seyots'aa' k'ek'uh kk'aa dedeyoh." Nedaanh k'edee bedenaa' taaldlee'? "Seyots'aa' k'ek'uh kk'aa dedeyoh. Seyots'aa' k'ek'uh kk'aa dedeyoh. Nugh seyots'aa' k'ek'uh kk'aa dent'aa," neey yuh do'o yuh dotaalne'e'.

K'enoot haayedeneeggodle aahaa yoonnee'uh. Soohoonay eey-dee yuh yekk'e dol'uh. No'o t'aanh soot'e naaghedenoh kk'e deghe-t'aa' de naaghetedenolaa.

Dehoon kk'udaa lo'ts'eyuh kk'udaa go nek'etaatl'-uhtl. "Go lo eeydenh hodee? Go lo eeydenh hodee?" hedetaalne'e'. Go k'enoot gheel heetaatlkoodee. Nedaats'e haahaa ghulaa' heyekk'aa eelneek.

"Haa! Dont'aa go k'enoot-yekk'e doltlaakk k'ek'uh yekk'e doltlaakk. Nugh ees soohooneey ent'aa nugh deyeeloh," hedetaalne'e'. "Luhghaa." Go koon be-dzeyh doots'aa koon chendeneyh.

He pulled the caribou ashore. The place seemed to be alive with little people on the shore as he worked on it. A woman kept telling him, "My daughter has developed a taste for fat." Was her child starving or what? "My daughter has developed a taste for fat. My daughter has developed a taste for fat." He gave her some but she kept coming back for more, saying, "My daughter has developed a taste for fat."

He tore a piece of lacy membrane from the stomach and threw it at her.² He threw it over her on purpose. While he was working he saw that the membrane was moving around for a while. Then it stopped.

He continued to butcher the caribou. Soon they began to say, "Where is she? Where is she?" They began to pick up the fat. I guess that is how they found out what he had done.

"Hey! He threw the membrane over her. He threw the fat on top of her. He did it on purpose," they started to say. "Kill him." I don't know how they expected to do that when they could not even kill a

2. *K'enoot* is the omentum, a fatty membrane that surrounds the stomach and looks somewhat like lace. The woman who had been bothering him was a camp robber woman.

"Nugh luhghaa. Nugh solt'aanh
bugh hootsenenh aahaa k'edegge
dedeyoh. Luhghaa!" koon kk'udaa
yuh yee dohudegheelet. Huyee
dohudegheelet.

Ts'uh taadleghe! sohoonaaney.

Kk'udaa tl'ogho yuh k'enodzen
kk'o' aahaa yuh k'uh kk'e deheye-
taaldleen' gheelhee go daaheyedee-
taatidek ts'en'. Ts'uh yoon! hok'ede-
taalt'ekk. Eet etltaanh. Eet
etltaanh.

Huyet, "Duhkk'oyh! Duhk-
kk'oyh!" beeznee. Go huys'en'
ts'uh kk'udaa kk'aa nohunaalyonh.
K'etsaan' kuh yuh tugh hedetaal-
tlaatl. K'etsaan' tugh hedetlaa.
Ts'uh eeydee yuh heyetleeghodaal-
tonh. K'etsaan' heyetleeghodaal-
tonh. Ts'uh kk'udaa heyaakkun'-
daaneettleyh. Yoogh bukkundaa-
diletluh.

Ts'uh eet etltaa---nh. Heye-
deeffk'onh. Go daaheyoolaah? Go
k'edeeteey nekoh.

Kk'udaa hun hudeedetl'eets go
kk'udaa huys'en'. Ts'e gheel go
bedzeyh kk'o'eededaalee. Kk'udaa
hudeedetl'eets dehoon degge daa-
noneetneek. Ts'uh daa'en taalyo.

caribou. "Kill him. He killed a
very precious woman. Kill him!"
they clamored. It was noisy.

He pretended to run away.

They shot little arrows at him,
and it was as if he were being cov-
ered with quills. He threw himself
forward and lay on the ground,
pretending to be dead. He lay
there.

"Burn him! Burn him!" they
said. It was fall and the grass was
mature. They chopped down grass
and piled it on top of him. Then
they lit the grass but it burned on
top without harming him.

He lay there as if he were
dead. They had burned him.
They could not do anything else
with him, he was so big.

Soon it was dark, being early
in the fall. That was why the
caribou had been on the move. It
was dark and they had all gone,
so he got up. He began to walk. A

Huyel nedaa doduggu hun negoo-
dzegh donaaldo. Ts'uh noyeghee-
k'enh. Naa'en neenoyeeltaan.

Dehoon go bedzeyh gheel
laaheltaayee.

Kk'udaa eeydee ghenee hudeel-
kk'onh. Ts'uh eeydee ekkunee' e-
gheeltleyh. Go yetlee' koonh.

Huyel hun, "Dont'aa no'o no-
gheedeno'! No'o ees hudeelkk'onh!
No'o ees nogheedeno'!" beeznee.

Huyel hun kk'udaa, "K'etoh-
hon' de onee'. K'etohhon' detlek-
ts'e onee'," hudetaalne'. Ts'uh go
too aahaa koon k'uhudeeghun.
Ts'uh kk'udaa heyughu neenee-
daatl, k'eldon' kkaa yaan'. Kk'udaa
no'ots'e denaa een k'etohon heyugh
needenaadeggut. Ts'uh neelk'ots'en
kkun' ghu neehedenaadeggut. De-
hoon nont kk'udaa k'etaalt'aa'. Nont
k'et'aa. K'etlee' ekkunee' eghee'o.

K'enoggaadze dleduh. Yaats'en
kkunok'elt'aa'. Yaats'enyee koon
dleduh. At'eeylo koon detoneel
yetnee dehugh go yetlee' ekkunee-
k'egheeltleyh. Yaats'en koon kku-
nok'elt'aa'. Huyel no'o daadlet'een
kkaa hun, "Nugh luhtghaa," heye-
nodetaalne'.

great horned owl landed on a tree
near him and he shot it down with
an arrow and took it back to the
village.

The little people were feasting
on the caribou.

He built a fire to cook the owl.
He put it on a roasting stick, includ-
ing the head.

"He's alive over there! He built
a fire! He's alive over there!" they
said.

K'etetaalkkaanee said, "Come
eat. Everybody come eat," he told
them. This was after he had
drowned so many of them. Some of
them gathered around him. The
people who wanted to eat came to
him. Some sat on one side of the fire,
and some on the other. The owl was
beginning to cook with its head on
the cooking stick.

Soon one of the eyes popped out
and everybody on one side of the
campfire died from its steam. Then
the other eye popped out. Evidently
he had meant for that to happen.
That is why he put the head on a
stick as well. Everybody on the
other side of the fire died too. The
few left began to yell, "Kill him!"

Ts'uh go debeedoy debeedoy
tonogheetonh. Taadleghe! soohoo-
naaney. Kk'udaa neek'oneekkaanh.
Non? noneets'e yuh saakkaay yet
detlekts'e gheelhee nedaats'e
ghulaa'.

Bekk'e koon kk'udaa tl'ogho
yuh tokkokk'e yuh haahoodet'aa-
naa ts'e denohodeyoh. Dehoon
kk'udaa tl'ogho yuh yetl'odetaale-
dok. Tl'ogho yuh todeteteeyh!

"Nugh betode'," hednee. Neelts'e
hedelghus. Dehoon no'oogh zo yuh
yeggennaahedelnenh. Yeggennaah-
edelnenh. Detlekts'e hebekkele.

Ts'uh go bugh neek'ots'encee-
daatlne detlege koon uhudee-
ghunh. Kk'udaa k'eefekkk'enh
zokk'ul k'edo'eeltaalaa.

Et'eeylo k'oyeedenaa kkaa.
K'oyeedenaa. Go nedaats'e ghulaa'
go k'oyeedenaa? Kk'edonts'ednee
kkenaage'. Et'eeylo k'oyeedenaa
kkaa koon kk'udaa hudeeghunh.
Yuhu go doogh hebehootoldlaa'aa
duhugh gheelhee degheenee'
koon, go Grandpa gheelaa'.

He put his canoe back into the
water and pretended to flee. They
all followed him in their canoes,
all the children and everybody.

The water was black behind
him, there were so many of them.
Then he began to make waves by
bouncing up and down in his canoe.
There were big waves!

"Watch out for his waves," they
said. They shouted to each other.
They were capsizing all around
him. Soon they were all gone.

Then he killed the remaining
ones on shore. He did not even save
one person.

Apparently they were little
people. Little people. I don't under-
stand the word *k'oyeedenaa*, which
is used to refer to the little people.
It is old language from the Distant
Time stories. He had killed all the
little people. My grandpa said that
he had done this so that they
would not be around today.

Yelkuh Solt'aanh
Giant Woman



Ts'uh kk'udaa yoogh kk'udaa
 huyts'en'. Nodo' needze ghekkaal.
 Ghekkaal. Ehuyel gheel go kk'udaa
 yoodo hun koon kk'udaa hudaal-
 kk'un'. Ts'uh kk'udaa eet neegho-
 neekkaan. Doogh tolyo. Huyel
 hun go hun solt'aanh ku---h.
 Et'eeylo yelkuh solt'aanh hun ledō.

Doogh debaats'e k'aal ghodo-
 k'eghedeetaalno' gheelhee. Yeyel
 tsondodetaaldlee'.

Huyel gheel go, "Haa! Hu-
 deeyh! Hudok'edee netsey ten
 he'eenlenh ts'e koon dent'aanh,"
 yelnee. "Tlaa eey dent'aanh ts'e
 hogho aay'oo doghun huneede-
 ghee'oy deneentlelaaa'," yelnee.
 No'o ts'ebaa laal ts'ebaa kuh aay'oo
 huneedeghee'o. Ts'uh eeydee ghu
 neeneeyo. Ts'uh kk'udaa yedenaal-
 tlel. Go tlaa eey donaahoogholtsoł
 soo'u haahaa yelnee ts'en'.

Ts'uh kk'udaa no'ots'e yugh
 neeno'eedeyo. Kk'udaa debaats'e
 k'aal yet naaltaanh. Huyel betsoo
 konh toyegheeltlaakk, go k'edee-
 teey negudze. Lekkon yaan'
 nelaanh ts'e honotoyegheeltlaakk.

It was almost fall. He paddled
 along downstream. Once again, he
 went around a bend and saw a
 camp farther downriver. He
 paddled to it, landed, and walked
 up the bank. A very big woman
 was there. Evidently she was a
 giant.

He began to tease the old lady
 and flirt with her.

"Hey! Watch it! Are you sure
 that you're big enough to follow
 your grandpa's path?" she asked
 him. "If you're really so strong,
 why don't you cut down that tree
 on the hillside?" she told him. A
 big spruce tree stood on the
 hillside. He went to it and he
 chopped it down. That had been
 her way of testing his strength.

Then he went back to her house
 and lay down beside her. He got
 washed into the old lady's
 stomach, he was so little. He
 floated out, covered with blood,
 and flew away as a pine

Huyel kaayoode nelaanh ts'e ee-
t'ukk. Beeznee de huyaanh huk'e
beyel eseneyh.

grosbeak.¹ That is as far as I know
the story.

Et'eghl huydo hutaaldlet
yeenslenh. Huyh ghon' naaltlgus.

I thought the winter had just
begun. I've chewed off part of it.

1. That is why the pine grosbeak has a rosy red breast and head. The pine grosbeak is also called *kk'ogholdaale* "the traveler" and *dukkughuldaal* "that which eats seeds on tree branches or treetops."

K'etetaalkkaanee: The One Who Paddled Among the People and Animals is the story of a man who "walked all winter and paddled all summer" on a journey in search of medicine power. It is the ancient tale of K'etetaalkkaanee as he leaves his mother's home and begins his search for the power he has dreamed of. The action centers on his attempt to overcome obstacles and become the first of his mother's sons to return home from a spiritual journey. He is strengthened by each difficult and dangerous adventure.

K'etetaalkkaanee is the third volume of Koyukon Athabaskan tales told by Catherine Attla in her native *Denaakk'e* and translated by Eliza Jones. In this story cycle, a series of episodes is united by a single character. The action takes place in the mythical past, when people and animals could talk with one another.

In Northern Athabaskan culture, this epic was told in the winter, in a definite sequence, with a series of episodes recounted during several evenings. The stories served to entertain and inspire listeners as well as to instruct them in cultural traditions and values. This volume, with a foreword by James Ruppert, represents the fullest account ever printed of this story cycle.

Catherine Attla was born in 1927 in Alaska's Koyukon region and still lives in the village of Huslia. Her grandparents, Francis and Christine Olin, taught her the old stories and inspired her to carry on the oral tradition. Over the years, her narrative skill has placed her among the foremost Athabaskan storytellers.

Other titles by Catherine Attla

Sitsiy Yugh Noholnik Ts'in'

As My Grandfather Told It

(with teacher's guide)

Bakk'aatugh Ts'uhuniy

Stories We Live By

(with teacher's guide)

**K'etetaalkkaanee
The One Who Paddled
Among the People and Animals**

An Analytical Companion Volume
by Chad Thompson



152

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

**K'etetaalkkaanee:
The One Who Paddled
Among the People and Animals
An Analytical Companion Volume**

Chad Thompson

**K'etetaalkkaanee:
The One Who Paddled
Among the People and Animals
An Analytical Companion Volume**

Chad Thompson

Yukon Koyukuk School District
and
Alaska Native Language Center
College of Liberal Arts
University of Alaska Fairbanks
1990

© 1990 Alaska Native Language Center and
Yukon Koyukuk School District

All Rights Reserved
Printed in the United States of America

Prepared for publication by
the Alaska Native Language Center
Illustrations by Cindy Davis

First Printing 1990 250 copies
Second Printing 1992 100 copies

Cataloging in Publication Data

Thompson, Chad

K'etetaalkkaanee: the one who paddled among the people and
animals: an analytical companion volume / Chad Thompson:
[illustrations by Cindy Davis].

p. cm.

Analysis of K'etetaalkkaanee.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 1-55500-039-8

1. Attla, Catherine. K'etetaalkkaanee. 2. Koyukon Indians--
Legends. 3. Koyukon language--Texts. 4. Folk literature--Alaska--
History and criticism. I. Attla, Catherine. K'etetaalkkaanee.
II. Title.

E99.K79T46 1990
398.2'089972--dc20

90-13004
CIP

Address correspondence to:
Yukon Koyukuk School District
P.O. Box 309
Nenana, Alaska 99760

Alaska Native Language Center
University of Alaska Fairbanks
P.O. Box 900111
Fairbanks, Alaska 99775-0120

CONTENTS

Preface.....	viii
About This Study.....	ix

Introduction

Koyukon, <i>Kk'edonts'ednee</i> , and <i>K'etetaalkkaanee</i>	2
The use of Language in <i>Kk'edonts'ednee</i>	5
The Oral Nature of Storytelling.....	8
Reactions to Athabaskan Stories:	
Subjective versus Objective.....	11

Chapter 1: The Episodes

Fish Camp.....	14
Camp Robber.....	16
Rabbit.....	18
The Chickadee People.....	20
Willow Grouse, Spruce Grouse, and Ptarmigan.....	22
The One Who Spears Through the Ice.....	23
Otter.....	24
Grandpa, I Have Come to You.....	26
Horned Owl.....	27
Marten.....	29
Wolverine.....	31
Shovel Man.....	33
Hawk Owl.....	35
The One Married to His Own Hand.....	37
The One With Snowshoes Bent Up on Both Ends.....	38
Where He Spent the Spring.....	40
Fishhook.....	43

How Unlikely to be Hanging by the Neck From That.....	44
When He Shot an Arrow Into Mink's Leg.....	46
When He Grabbed Raven's Beak.....	48
Where His Older Brother's Skull Came Ashore to Him.....	50
He Made a Grave for the Girl Who Had Been Given to Him.....	52
When He Came to His Enslaved Older Brother.....	53
Little People.....	55
Giant Woman.....	57
Chapter 2: Overview	
Winter and Summer Stories.....	60
<i>K'etetaalkkaanee</i> and the Present.....	62
Asides and Commentary Made	
During the Telling of the Story.....	67
Other Koyukon Versions of <i>K'etetaalkkaanee</i>	69
Chapter 3: Characters in <i>Kk'edonts'ednee</i>	
Characters Found in <i>Kk'edonts'ednee</i>	78
Travelers.....	81
Avengers.....	87
Donors.....	93
Kin Relationships.....	98
Names.....	104
Chapter 4: Situations in <i>Kk'edonts'ednee</i>	
Dangers.....	108
Interactions.....	115
Chapter 5: Time and Place in <i>Kk'edonts'ednee</i>	
Settings.....	126
Distance.....	132
Chapter 6: Other Northern Traveler Stories	
Broad Themes of Traveler Stories.....	140
Other Traveler Stories.....	143
Canadian Traveler Stories.....	155

Eskimo Traveler Stories.....	162
Native Accounts.....	168
The Distribution of Motifs.....	172
Bibliography.....	178

PREFACE

The first time I heard an Athabaskan story I was in my second year of college. The story was "Tobaan Atsah" ("She's Crying on the Beach"), and it has since been published in Catherine Attla's first collection of stories, *Sitsiy Yugh Noholnik Ts'in: As My Grandfather Told It*. I immediately fell in love with the story and have never forgotten it. The summer after hearing that story I repeated it to an old high school friend while I was visiting my hometown in Michigan. When I had finished telling the story, my friend remarked, "That's it? It's a typical American Indian story. It's completely pointless." I was offended, but I was unable to say what I liked about the story.

I am writing this now for people who react to Koyukon stories in the same manner as my friend, and I am also writing for those who are like I was when I told my friend the story—those who like Koyukon stories and would like to pinpoint their reasons for liking them.

My qualification to write this analysis is that I am a linguist and was involved in translating the story from *Denaakk'e* (Koyukon) to English. I am neither a literary critic, nor a professional folklorist. I do believe, however, that anyone—linguist, critic or folklorist—who is not a part of the Athabaskan culture should approach stories such as these with humility. I am annoyed by people who are blinded by their own expertise, and whose analyses shed more light on themselves than on the subject. I hope that this analysis reveals more about *K'etetaalkkaanee* than it does about me. At least, those more conversant than I in literary criticism, folklore, and education should be able to glean enough from it to form their own opinions.

I would like to thank Eliza Jones of the Alaska Native Language Center for her insights and explanations. Those things in this analysis that place *K'etetaalkkaanee* in its proper cultural perspective are a result of her first-hand knowledge of the subject, or a result of Catherine Attla's first-hand knowledge.

ABOUT THIS STUDY

This book presents an analysis of Catherine Attla's *K'etetaalkkaanee*, a traditional Koyukon Athabaskan story published in 1990 by Yukon-Koyukuk School District and Alaska Native Language Center. The introduction to that book, along with the introductions to two other books by Catherine, *Sitsiy Yugh Noholnik Ts'in: As My Grandfather Told It* (1983) and *Bakk'aatugh Ts'uhuniy: Stories We Live By* (1989), gives background information on Koyukon stories that readers may find helpful when referred to in conjunction with the information given in the following pages. I have assumed that readers of this analysis have also read *K'etetaalkkaanee*.

Because *K'etetaalkkaanee* is considered part of *Kk'edonts'ednee* 'Distant Time', the body of Koyukon stories about the distant past, I have attempted to discuss it in that context. Chapters 4 through 6 are about the nature of all *Kk'edonts'ednee*. Chapter 7 attempts to discuss *K'etetaalkkaanee* in the context of the widespread northern "traveler" theme. I have attempted to comment on all aspects of the story without going too deeply into any one aspect, hoping to provide a factual basis upon which others with more specific interests may build.

Introduction

KOYUKON, KK'EDONTS'EDNEE, AND K'ETETAALKKAANEE

The Koyukon People

The word *Koyukon* is not a Koyukon word. It is a blend of *Koyukuk* and *Yukon*, the names of the two major rivers along which the Koyukon people live. The Koyukon people call themselves *Tleeyegge Hut'aane* 'Native People.' They use these words to refer to any Athabaskans, and no word in the Koyukon language refers to the Koyukon people as a group. The Koyukon language is called *Denaakk'e* 'Our Way' or *t'leeyegge hukkenaage* 'Native language.' *Denaakk'e* has three major dialects: (1) Upper Koyukon, which is spoken in Manley Hot Springs, Rampart, Stevens Village, and part of Tanana (in short, above the confluence of the Yukon and Tanana rivers); (2) Lower Koyukon, which is spoken in Kaltag and Nulato; and (3) Central Koyukon, which is spoken along the Koyukuk River and along the Yukon River in Koyukuk, Galena, Ruby, and part of Tanana. There are some cultural, as well as linguistic, differences among these groups. When I speak of Koyukon people in this book, I am referring only to the people along the Koyukuk River. Catherine Attla, who told *K'etetaalkkaanee*, is from Huslia. People interested in learning more about the Koyukon people of the Koyukuk River should refer to Nelson (1983); Nelson, Mautner, and Bane (1982); and Clark (1974, 1981).

Kk'edonts'ednee

Koyukon stories of the very distant past are called *Kk'edonts'ednee*, which can refer to individual stories, the entire genre of stories, or the time in which the stories took place. The distinction between animals and humans did not exist during the time of *Kk'edonts'ednee*, and everyone lived under a different set of norms and restrictions than people do today. The nature of these stories and the time in which they are said to have taken place are discussed more fully in the introduction to Attla 1986 and in

Koyukon, Kk'edonts'ednee, and K'etetaalkkaanee

Nelson 1983:16-19, but I define *Kk'edonts'ednee* as the canon upon which Koyukon religion is based. *K'etetaalkkaanee* is the longest of these stories and, like all *Kk'edonts'ednee*, should be told during the winter.

The Name K'etetaalkkaanee

The name *K'etetaalkkaanee* has been translated in several ways: "The One Who Traveled Around the World," "The One Who Paddled Among the Creatures," "The World Traveler," and so on. Some have even called the character "Noah" (in particular, see Rooth 1971). Athabaskan names are often difficult to translate because they are constructed to convey much information in a concise manner. The most literal translation of *k'etetaalkkaanee* is something like "the one who traveled by canoe among things or people," but this translation is awkward in English. Below is a morpheme-by-morpheme translation.

<i>k'e</i>	'something' - refers collectively to the various animals and people he encountered
<i>te</i>	'among'
<i>taal</i>	past tense, third person singular
<i>kkaan</i>	'to travel by boat or canoe'
<i>ee</i>	nominalizer or relativizer 'the one who'

K'etetaalkkaanee as a Cycle

The episodes of *K'etetaalkkaanee* form what folklorists call a cycle, a group of stories united by a common character. Eskimos, Tlingits, Haidas, and Athabaskans all have Raven cycles, although the stories in the cycles can be quite diverse from one culture to another. People generally speak of all stories about Raven within any particular tradition as belonging to a single cycle (e.g., see Chowning 1952:iii).

The Raven and *K'etetaalkkaanee* cycles of the Koyukon people are quite different. Stories in the Raven cycle can be told individually and in any order. They are not considered parts of a larger story. Catherine Attla has made it clear, however, that for the *K'etetaalkkaanee* cycle, both the unity and the sequence of the episodes are vital. If the story is told during the time for storytelling, between early and mid-winter, it must be told in its entirety and in the correct sequence. During other times of the year, or

Introduction

in contexts outside a traditional setting, people may tell individual episodes; otherwise *K'etetaalkkaanee* is considered a single story and should be told as such.

At least a week is needed to tell *K'etetaalkkaanee* in its entirety in the traditional manner, with several episodes being recounted each evening. While *K'etetaalkkaanee* is being told, no other story should be started.

THE USE OF LANGUAGE IN KK'EDONTS'EDNEE

The language considered "high" by the Koyukon people is marked by the use of metaphor, metonymy, and the use of archaic or rarely used words. A Koyukon person skilled in the use of high language must have a vivid imagination and a keen awareness of his or her natural surroundings. Koyukon high language is firmly based on the importance of the natural environment.

The Koyukon people traditionally use riddles to train younger people in the use of high language. Because riddles were exercises in high language, they are a good introduction to the creative use of language for those who are interested in, but lost by, figurative language. Eliza Jones, a Koyukon linguist at Alaska Native Language Center, has translated and published some riddles that were told by Chief Henry (Henry 1973). The most extensive collection of Koyukon riddles is, by far, the collection published by the Jesuit priest Jules Jetté (1913). Koyukon riddles have been discussed in Dauenhauer (1976), Dauenhauer and Jetté (1977), and Thompson (1984:21-23), so I will add little about them here.

Dauenhauer concentrates on the poetic nature of riddles, calling them "riddle poems." This is a good description. Dauenhauer says, "The riddles in Jetté exemplify the poetic use of everyday language and the imaginative juxtaposition of everyday images, of seeing something in terms of something else, and verbalizing that picture through the manipulation of the wonderful and indefinite potential of language" (Dauenhauer and Jetté 1977).

The language of riddles, however, is not everyday language. Riddles exhibit not only imaginative use of language, but also archaic language. People fluent in *Denaakk'e* may have a difficult time understanding even the literal meaning of a riddle. Chief Henry says that the "old language" is difficult to understand (1973: Riddle 7). It is true, however, that the

Introduction

riddles are all based on nature. Chief Henry says (as translated by Eliza Jones), "At least it was their own environment that they used as the basis for their riddles" (1973: Riddle 1). One of Chief Henry's riddles, which relates two everyday images, is "Wait, I see something. Something is acting like a dog that's lapping up broth. [Answer:] Fire flaring up and down" (1973: Riddle 10).

In an interview for the KUAC-FM program "Chinook," Eliza Jones said, "You really have to use your imagination for this kind of thing. You see things so differently, like when you look at a snowshoe and think of it as having a head and a tail and all those things. It [riddling] refers to being really aware of things when you're out walking in the woods...the birch bark flapping in the wind and so on" (Thompson 1984:23).

Riddles are like metaphors and similes, but they form associations like those of metonymy and synecdoche. For example, consider Chief Henry's riddle, "Wait, I see something: It looks like a cache that's leaning over in the other world." The answer to this riddle is *kkotl* 'cloudberry.' Each cloudberry stalk has a single berry, which droops as it ripens. Caches, which are used for storing food, often tilt to one side as they get older.

Koyukon riddles make sense to the Koyukon people because of the associations that the questions and answers share. Jetté says that Koyukon riddles make sense only if one thinks like an Athabaskan: "He [a Koyukon person] does not consider the separableness of the constituents in one aggregate...He takes the whole as a whole, not a sum of parts, and keeps associating its elements in one complex image. Consequently it is enough to suggest one of the elements, to evoke in his mind the complete representation of the entire compound" (Jetté 1913:650).

While Koyukon people no longer tell riddles in the traditional manner, people continue to, in effect, speak in riddles. Eliza Jones tells of an old woman visiting Fairbanks who, upon seeing cars lining up at a traffic light, said that they looked like bullets being loaded into a gun. More than one Athabaskan person has compared non-native people in a cafeteria to frogs on a lake. Athabaskan people generally talk very little at meals and are often struck by all the noise that non-native people make when they are eating in a cafeteria. In spring, the frogs found around lakes make cacophonous sounds.

People also continue to use high language when making speeches in

The Use of Language in Kk'edonts'ednee

either *Denaakk'e* or English. High language is sometimes used in stories as well, although there are no longer many good storytellers. To traditional Koyukon people, however, *Kk'edonts'ednee* have religious significance, so the associations found in these stories are sometimes viewed as literal associations between animal-people and the animals they become.

People's beliefs can affect the way they use language. The Koyukon tendency to refer to something by association may be related to beliefs that people should not draw attention to themselves and that animals can be offended by flippant talk. To Athabaskans, words have power, so they should not be taken lightly. The lack of hyperbole and epithets in Koyukon figurative language is also related to the belief that people should not draw attention to themselves, as well as to the lack of a belief in all-powerful dieties.

THE ORAL NATURE OF STORYTELLING

Much in *Kk'edonts'ednee* is lost not only in the translation, but also in the transcription. Storytelling is an oral performance to the Athabaskan people, and merely writing down the words cannot convey the story's entire meaning. Although the stories were traditionally told in the dark, many non-verbal clues accompanied them. Furthermore, the telling of the stories was, and is, considered as important as the content. Part of the enjoyment derived from a story comes from the way it is told. In this respect, the Athabaskan storytelling tradition is similar to the non-Athabaskan genre of drama. In fact, Jacobs, in his discussion of Clackamas Chinook myths, speaks in terms of "actors, scenes, epilogues, and the like, rather than...plots, motifs, and episodes" (1959:7). Bascom (1955) speaks in terms of "verbal art" rather than unwritten literature.

Albert Lord (1956) has presented a pessimistic view of writing down oral literature. Following the work of Milman Parry on epic poetry (see Parry 1971), he studied the effects of literacy on the telling of epics. He concluded that literacy did not help the telling of epics; if anything, it hurt. His work with epic singer Avdo Mededovic convinced him that Mededovic formed a mental picture which, in turn, he manifested verbally. Lord believes that literacy impedes the formation of detailed mental images, acting as a crutch. The loss inherent in writing down stories, then, is twofold: not only are nuances lost in the transcription and translation, but also good storytelling skills are lost.

One of Rasmussen's favorite storytellers, an Eskimo named Apakkaq from the Noatak River, had an equally dim view of written stories. The storyteller told Rasmussen, "You ruin our stories entirely if you are determined to stiffen them out on paper. Learn them yourself and let them spring from your mouth as living words" and "The most festive thing of all is joy in beautiful, smooth words and our ability to express them" (Rasmussen 1932:vi).

The Oral Nature of Storytelling

Clearly, in writing oral stories, some important things are changed or even lost. The audience is expanded but impersonalized. Furthermore, the creativity associated with each telling of a story is lost. Ingalik storyteller Belle Deacon pictures the telling of a story as following a bright light, which illumines each part of a story as it leads the teller through the story. Deacon compares this illumination to focusing on each successive part of a written page while reading (Deacon, n.d.).

The creativity associated with storytelling is, of course, important in traditions other than Athabaskan. Another Eskimo storyteller whom Rasmussen talked to was an old woman named Majuak who lived in Little Diomedé. Before telling Rasmussen anything, she said that she had to observe the custom of "*Karritsiluni*," which she said means 'waiting for something to break forth'. People would sit in silence, waiting for inner inspiration. In reference to composing new songs, Majuak said, "While everyone is trying hard to think fair thoughts, songs are born in the minds of men, rising like bubbles from the depths—bubbles seeking breath in which to burst" (Rasmussen 1932:6-7).

Lord (1956) and Parry (1971:266-364) strongly argue that Greek and Yugoslavian epics are oral in nature and that the telling, or rather the singing, of these epics requires skill and creativity. Parry (p. 335) says that "No graver mistake could be made than to think the art of the singer calls only for memory."

If the telling of stories is an integral part of a culture's tradition, then we must wonder what the future of the Athabaskan oral tradition will be. The Athabaskan stories that have been recorded, written, translated, and published in recent years may not perpetuate this tradition as it should be perpetuated. In fact, all of this activity to "preserve" this tradition may be hurting it. Rooth, when speaking of the Athabaskan storytelling tradition, says that "the importance of storytelling has waned, and consequently the natural opportunities for the individual to practice rhetoric, to express himself verbally and to evaluate the speech of others, e.g. in the village council" (1976:102).

Two things, however, are cause for hope. One is that poetic, riddle-like language is still used, and the other is that stories are still being told. While the traditional contexts for these activities have all but disappeared, perhaps they will be restored or new ones will be created. It is also true that only older people are currently competent in the oral tradition, but it

Introduction

is also true that older people have always carried the tradition and younger people have listened to it, without speaking it, until they themselves have gained such competence. Perhaps young Athabaskans will some day reveal themselves as storytellers.

REACTIONS TO ATHABASKAN STORIES: SUBJECTIVE VERSUS OBJECTIVE

Many non-Athabaskans would react differently to these stories if they knew more of the cultural context in which they were told. Some non-Athabaskans have a romantic view of Native Americans, while others perhaps even have a cynical view. For example, I have heard one white person describe as "haunting" a story that another called "gruesome." One person might characterize a story as "abstract" that another might call "pointless." Above all, we should remain objective when we are presented with something outside our normal experience, something such as traditional Athabaskan stories.

Classification and Contextualization

One way to achieve objectivity is through classification, or categorizing something in a way that makes it familiar to the audience. Athabaskans classify *K'etetaalkkaanee* as a *Kk'edonts'ednee*, a term quite unfamiliar to non-Athabaskans. *K'etetaalkkaanee* could be classified as part of the oral literature of the Athabaskan people and a story of epic length and theme, containing surrealistic images. It could also be classified more specifically as a trickster story, a hero story, a navigator story, or a creation story. Any one of these classifications might satisfy some people, but none of them would be more accurate than adjectival classifications such as "haunting" or "gruesome."

One of classification's major functions is to take something unfamiliar and relate it to things familiar, to allow something to be viewed as part of a pattern. Such an approach is not misguided if we assume that humans are more or less the same everywhere and that verbal forms of creativity, enculturation, and entertainment have common elements worldwide. However, there is a danger in classification if we assume that those things that we are more familiar with are the prototypes or archetypes by which all other elements are to be evaluated.

Introduction

Another way to achieve objectivity is through placing something in a context where it can be seen from an appropriate perspective. I am generally more satisfied with analyses that contextualize than I am with those that merely classify, but in the following analysis, I attempt to satisfy people who prefer either approach.

Chapter 1

The Episodes

FISH CAMP

K'etetaalkkaanee begins in fish camp, where a boy is living with his mother. One by one, his older brothers have left home, and even though *K'etetaalkkaanee's* mother is probably aware that her remaining son has no choice but to leave, she begs him to stay. In the time ahead, he is to meet many people and families, and during the following summer, he is to paddle his canoe to many other fish camps, but the relationship between him and his mother and brothers is the only one in the story that can be described as loving. At best, the relationships he has with others are friendly. At worst, they are treacherous.

The plot is basically about a man who is gaining medicine power. We know this because *K'etetaalkkaanee* sleeps all the time. Traditionally, young people were trained to rise early and would not think of sleeping late, as people commonly do these days. When Koyukon children were to become medicine people, they slept and dreamt of adventures and obstacles they would experience in waking life. In traditional times, if someone slept often and slept late, it indicated that the person was having such dreams and, therefore, was in the process of becoming a medicine person.

We can assume that *K'etetaalkkaanee's* brothers had also slept a lot before they left, even though this is not stated explicitly in the story. That they left and never returned gives us a clue. Later in the story, we see that, indeed, they are medicine people.

A Koyukon medicine person will dream of obstacles and gain power from those dreams. When he or she experiences the obstacles in real life, medicine power is needed to overcome them, and when the obstacles have been conquered, the person's power is further strengthened. If an obstacle cannot be overcome, the person has reached an impasse and is unable to go forward or return. Because *K'etetaalkkaanee's* brothers never returned, we know that each met an obstacle he could not overcome.

Fish Camp

We know from the beginning that K'etetaalkkaanee will indeed leave his mother and will meet various adventures and obstacles. The question in the listener's or reader's mind, from the first episode on, is whether K'etetaalkkaanee will overcome all obstacles and return home to his mother. Will he be the first in the family to return from a spiritual medicine journey?

Because Athabaskan storytellers tend to leave things unsaid, letting listeners think for themselves, a naive audience might miss the details of the plot of this story. Listeners might not know why K'etetaalkkaanee and his brothers leave home to go on these journeys. The travelers do not seek adventure or fortune, as they might in a European-style fairy tale. They leave home to live out their dreams and become medicine people.

The beginning of this story is similar to that of *Ggaadooggaa*, two versions of which have been published (Jones and Pilot 1975; Attla 1989). In both *K'etetaalkkaanee* and *Ggaadooggaa*, a boy living alone with his mother sleeps excessively, then goes on a journey to gain medicine power. Each meets danger. The stories differ, though, in that *Ggaadooggaa* returns to his mother. Scollon and Scollon (1981:145) claim that in Chippewyan folklore, commonly someone leaves home but returns in the end. This motif is also common in Koyukon stories, but in stories of medicine power, the protagonist often does not return to his home.

K'etetaalkkaanee's given name, Betohoh, is introduced in the first episode but never used again. From the time he leaves camp, his name is K'etetaalkkaanee "The One Who Paddled Among the People and Animals." In the second episode, the camp robber woman says that her husband was injured by Betohoh, but she is referring to the incident at fish camp and is probably unaware that K'etetaalkkaanee is Betohoh. The characters in the story do not address K'etetaalkkaanee by name. They refer to him in the polite third person, as "he," "the visitor" or "the newcomer."

In this first episode, the stage is set for all the other episodes. The theme is established, the protagonist is introduced, and the motivation for many of the upcoming actions of the protagonist is explained. A specific part of the the second episode is introduced in the first when K'etetaalkkaanee throws a rock and wounds a camp robber (gray jay, Canada jay) who is stealing fish eggs. K'etetaalkkaanee comes to the family of this wounded camp robber in the second episode.

CAMP ROBBER

On his journey, K'etetaalkkaanee encounters many types of people and animals. The first family he comes to is that of the camp robber, whose leg he had broken. The camp robber man is bedridden and unable to provide for his family. His wife is concerned and asks K'etetaalkkaanee to help them. The family is impoverished and pitiful as a result of K'etetaalkkaanee's action at fish camp.

The animal people that K'etetaalkkaanee meets usually have the characteristics of both humans and animals. This is true in the case of the camp robber people. The wife says that her husband had been putting away fish roe for the winter. However, the words she uses for "put away" or "store," *kk'oontlee' k'ek'edeenaadlekoot*, convey the idea of putting away one fish egg at a time, and the word for "fish roe," *kk'oontlee'*, is not normally used by humans for fish roe. The word literally seems to mean 'fish egg meat.' Apparently it is a special camp robber word for fish roe, and the phrase for putting away fish roe refers to the camp robber method of storing fish eggs.

In this episode, and in some other episodes, K'etetaalkkaanee acts in a way that traditional Koyukon Athabaskans would consider inappropriate. He is given soup made from only a couple of fish eggs, and he complains about the food, saying, "*Dzo! Selo tok'enghee'onh* " 'Finally! Something floated into my mouth.' His comment is quite rude. The camp robber people probably did not normally eat very much. In fact, they might even have tossed in an extra fish egg for their visitor.

Catherine Attla says this phrase is still used jokingly or teasingly when someone makes a watery soup. She says she always thinks of canned soup in connection with this statement.

Traditionally, Koyukon people did not address one another or refer to someone by name, preferring kinship terms instead. People of the same

Camp Robber

age addressed each other as friends even when meeting for the first time. An older person is referred to as uncle or aunt or grandfather or grandmother, regardless of relationship. That is one reason why personal names, including the names K'etetaalkkaanee and Betohoh, are rarely mentioned in these stories.

It is interesting to compare this episode to the one in which K'etetaalkkaanee shoots an arrow into a mink woman's leg. In both stories, he is asked to heal the leg of someone he has injured. In the case of the camp robber, the injury is inflicted thoughtlessly but probably not maliciously. In the case of the mink, the action is more deliberate. Furthermore, K'etetaalkkaanee heals the camp robber's leg immediately after he is fed, whereas after he shoots the mink, he hides in the woods, presumably intending to make a grand arrival the next day to heal the mink. He is discovered, however, and his plan is ruined. Frightened, he heals the mink and leaves quickly.

The differences between these two stories are typical of the differences between the summer and winter stories. In this and most of the other winter episodes, K'etetaalkkaanee does not have bad intentions. Sometimes his actions are beneficial to the people he meets, and sometimes they are harmful, but not intentionally so. This contrasts with his behavior in the summer stories, in which he purposely hurts people. In the camp robber episode, we know that he means no harm because of the way he enters the house: he brushes the snow off his feet and goes inside. Catherine Atlla says, "This is how they used to knock. If somebody had bad intentions, he would not knock, but walk right in."

This episode ends when K'etetaalkkaanee wakes up to find only camp robber droppings. The family has been transformed into camp robbers, never to become human again. Before this, they could evidently choose whether to be camp robbers or humans. They were camp robbers when they were taking the fish eggs, but humans when K'etetaalkkaanee came to them. They straddled the line between human and animal. For some reason, K'etetaalkkaanee was the one to force them over to the animal side, although it was probably not his intention to do so.

RABBIT

On his journey, K'etetaalkkaanee stays overnight at the home of some rabbits (snowshoe hares) who, like the camp robbers, permanently change into their animal form during the night. Also like the camp robber family, the rabbit family offers K'etetaalkkaanee supper, but he is not satisfied by the food. The camp robber food had been human food, but there had not been enough. The rabbit food, on the other hand is plentiful, but it is neither filling nor to his taste. In the morning, he realizes that the "food" they gave him was willows; evidently when they fed him, it did not look like willows. In a sense, the food is transformed with the animals. Before the transformation, both the food and the rabbit people have some human characteristics and some rabbit characteristics. After the transformation, both the food and the animals lose all human characteristics.

After dinner, one of the young rabbits dresses up and goes outside. It is significant that he dresses in rabbit skins. Traditionally, Koyukon people snared rabbits for food and for fur. Raven, who is known for being a poor dresser, is sometimes described as wearing an old rabbit-skin parka. The rabbit family has not been trapping rabbits to make the clothing, nor is it indicative of poverty. The young rabbit boy puts on the skin, which is to become his and his family's permanent skin after the transformation. Eliza Jones and Catherine Attla both have said that they picture the boy looking like a rabbit after he puts on all of his rabbit-skin clothing. When the boy goes outside, he gets trapped in a spring-pole snare that K'etetaalkkaanee had set before coming to the house.

When the boy does not come home as expected, his mother begins singing a medicine song to try to get her son back. Her medicine power is not strong enough to rescue him, however. She sings late into the night and keeps K'etetaalkkaanee awake. Annoyed, he complains and the mother rabbit stops singing. At that point, K'etetaalkkaanee hears something

Rabbit

making a thumping noise going out the door. The rabbit people have become rabbits and have hopped out of the house. In the morning he wakes to find the rabbits gone. Only their droppings and leftover willows remain behind.

In this episode and others, K'etetaalkkaanee acts in a manner contrary to what the Koyukon people consider proper etiquette. In this case, he talks boldly to the rabbit woman, even though he is a guest, as he did to the camp robber people in the preceding episode. He does think in the proper Koyukon manner, however, when upon waking and finding the house empty, he remembers the snare he had set and decides to check it, thinking, "even though I may not have caught anything." It is considered bad, even harmful, to be optimistic about one's luck in hunting.

It is not uncommon for Koyukon storytellers to insert explanatory notes into the story for the benefit of the audience. While a knowledgeable audience needs few such explanations, a naive audience needs many. Catherine Attla knew her intended audience when she made the recording of *K'etetaalkkaanee* with Eliza Jones; she was telling the story for the benefit of her people and for future generations on the Koyukuk River. Some of her explanatory comments are intended for young people who do not speak *Denaakk'e*, and some were meant for a *Denaakk'e*-speaking audience. In the rabbit episode, she makes a couple of explanations. For those unfamiliar with rabbits, she explains that they eat only willow shoots and willow tips in the winter. For *Denaakk'e* speakers, she explains that the word *kk'oontseeyh* refers to the willows that grow on sandbars.

THE CHICKADEE PEOPLE

As this episode begins, K'etetaalkkaanee is traveling where he has already traveled in his sleep. Catherine Attla says that it is as if he were backtracking on his own trail; in a sense, he is. I find it mildly unsettling to come upon my own footprints, but K'etetaalkkaanee does more than come upon his own footprints; he relives everything that he has already dreamt. He probably is aware of most of what will happen to him on his journey.

In this episode, K'etetaalkkaanee enters the house of a chickadee family comprising a man, his wife, and many small children. As in the previous episodes, he enters in the proper manner, first brushing his feet, and is welcome. The chickadee people are happy to see him because they do not live near other people; a visitor is a pleasant surprise. The man tells his wife to bring in some food, so she goes out and gets some scrapings from an animal skin. K'etetaalkkaanee sees these scrapings and evidently expects to have another small meal like the one he had with the camp robbers. Perhaps uncharacteristically, K'etetaalkkaanee does not complain. The woman, however, recognizes his apprehension and assures him that there will be enough by saying, "Oh dear! Their cousin came, and I overdid it." The food expands when she prepares it, and he has plenty to eat.

K'etetaalkkaanee spends the night with them and, as usual, wakes up to find everyone gone. When he goes outside, he sees many chickadees around the base of a spruce tree. We saw in the two previous episodes that the animal people had certain characteristics that they retained after their transformations. In this episode, one characteristic that the chickadee people retain is the way they gather in numbers. The family is described at the beginning of the story as having many members. This is not an arbitrary observation. The family is big because of the way the birds gather together. Or, perhaps closer to the Koyukon point of view, the birds gather together because the family was big.

The Chickadee People

Catherine Attla also tells us in the story that people hang up black bear skins with the inside facing out so that the chickadees can pick at it. Koyukon people did not use bear skins, so when a bear was caught, the people would skin it near its den and hang up the skin there. It would have been terribly unwise for someone to bring the skin into the village. People used to hang the skins inside out to be kind to the chickadees, who take bits from the skin and eat them. Perhaps this custom was repayment for nature being kind enough to allow the hunter to find a bear in its den.

WILLOW GROUSE, SPRUCE GROUSE, AND PTARMIGAN

In the camp robber, chickadee, and rabbit episodes, K'etetaalkkaanee came to families that were living away from other people. In the grouse and ptarmigan episode, he comes to a village. It is the only village he visits in the winter episodes, even though in more recent times, villages were inhabited only in the winter and fall. That villages are not more common in the winter episodes is accounted for by two things: (1) a village conflicts with the image of a single trail of smoke rising from an underground house, which is a common motif representing a sign of life after a long journey; and (2) because K'etetaalkkaanee interacts with only one family or person at a time, villages are unnecessary. In this episode, it is never specifically stated that he has come to a village, but it can be inferred from the many people playing kickball. The number of people and the speed at which they run and talk are reminiscent of the speed of the birds into which they are transformed and the clucking noises that the birds make.

In this episode and in most of the winter stories, K'etetaalkkaanee is warmly received by his animal hosts. They are eager to please him and offer him food. The grouse and ptarmigan people offer him some food from the tops of trees, something that looks like dried fish, but is unfilling and unsatisfying to K'etetaalkkaanee. As usual, he spends the night with his hosts and wakes to find the house still and empty, even though it had been noisy with conversation when K'etetaalkkaanee went to bed the night before. He walks out of the house and sees numerous grouse and ptarmigan in the treetops, making clucking noises.

This episode has two things in common with the rabbit episode. In both, K'etetaalkkaanee is offered non-human food, and he dines the next morning on the flesh of one of his transformed hosts. Whereas camp robbers and chickadees eat food that is close to human food and are not eaten by humans, rabbits, grouse, and ptarmigan eat completely non-human food, but are themselves choice foods for humans.

THE ONE WHO SPEARS THROUGH THE ICE

This episode is the first in which K'etetaalkkaanee meets someone with strong medicine power. Although the rabbit woman sang a medicine song while K'etetaalkkaanee was with her family, her power was ineffective and pitiful compared to K'etetaalkkaanee. The man K'etetaalkkaanee encounters in this episode has the power to spear fish through the ice and pull them out, apparently without leaving a hole. Ice fishing is still a common practice for the Koyukon people, but, of course, they fish through holes in the ice. Sometimes, when fish can be seen floating or swimming just under the ice, someone can hit the ice above the fish, knocking the fish unconscious long enough for someone to cut a hole in the ice and pull out the fish. Northern pike are commonly caught this way; they are big and often float, motionless, under the ice.

The man in this episode is nice to K'etetaalkkaanee, feeding him some fish after K'etetaalkkaanee tells him he is hungry. The man makes an unusual request: he asks K'etetaalkkaanee to eat all the food and not to store any away. This request is unusual because it was customary in traditional times to save the evening meal's leftovers to be eaten at breakfast the following morning. K'etetaalkkaanee ignores the man's interdiction, perhaps to keep with custom, but more likely to see what would happen. As a result, the man is no longer able to spear fish through the ice, and he therefore realizes what K'etetaalkkaanee has done.

This man is the first person K'etetaalkkaanee comes to who is not transformed into an animal in the middle of the night. In a version of this episode told by Chief Henry, however, the man is said to be a great gray owl man and is transformed into one during the night. Chief Henry also says that the man gives K'etetaalkkaanee two large blackfish to eat. This is somewhat atypical of the other episodes in that animal people usually eat food similar to the food they eat after their transformations into animals. Owls are not known for eating much fish.

OTTER

K'etetaalkkaanee next comes to an otter family. Usually in the winter episodes he becomes aware of people due to the smoke rising from their houses. In this episode, however, the first sign of life he encounters is some tracks made by board snowshoes. Catherine Attla says that her grandfather had a pair of board snowshoes, but such snowshoes have been used or seen by few people living today. The snowshoes were made from boards, with a rectangle large enough to accommodate a foot cut out of the boards. Rawhide straps were laced in to cover the hole, and footstraps were attached. The lacing under the foot would give enough to allow the foot to move comfortably. Board snowshoes were not very desirable. Because they slipped on the snow, they were usually used only temporarily, perhaps as emergency snowshoes.

While slippery snowshoes are undesirable for people, they are quite desirable for otter people. Otters are known for liking to slide on snow and ice. After seeing such tracks, K'etetaalkkaanee comes to a house situated by a lake outlet. He sees steam, rather than smoke, rising from the house, and when he enters the house, he sees that the steam is coming from wet wood being burned. He is concerned about the children, who are home alone, so he goes out looking for dry wood. Dry wood is abundant near the house because the otter family has not been burning any. He stokes the fire and gets it blazing, but the children begin to shiver. After the otter parents come home and put wet wood on the fire, it becomes clear that the otters prefer wet wood to dry, and that a hot fire makes them cold. It also is clear that they have been fishing underwater and have gathered their "firewood" underwater.

While the entryway to the otters' house leads to land, the places dug out on either side of the entryway—the *ben'toyeh*—lead down into the lake outlet next to which their house is situated. The otter parents enter the

Otter

house, carrying fish in their mouths, through these places. As they enter, K'etetaalkkaanee hears water running off them. This makes the otter people seem more animal-like than the other animal people K'etetaalkkaanee encounters. Unlike some of the other animal people, however, the otter family at least gives him food, grayling, which is good for both otters and humans.

Koyukon people believe that otters have strong spiritual power (Nelson 1983:148), but the taboos associated with them have less to do with one's luck in hunting than with certain bad characteristics of otters that might be passed on to children. Traditionally, children and women of childbearing age were not allowed to touch an otter, not even to tan its hide. Because otters have warts, it is believed that children can get warts from touching them. Children can also mimic the snorting noises otters make, and can acquire otters' "bathroom" habits. While other animals have special places to defecate, otters go anywhere—even in their own houses—and often walk in excrement as if it weren't there. Women of childbearing age who come into contact with an otter can pass these characteristics to any children they might have.

Otters were—and are—trapped mainly for their fur. People do not eat otters now, but when they did, only men and women past child-bearing age ate them. Unlike in the rabbit and grouse episodes, K'etetaalkkaanee does not eat one of the otters. The only animals that he kills to eat are those that people eat now. I find it interesting that no mention is ever made of his hunting for furs.

GRANDPA, I HAVE COME TO YOU

The person in this episode, like the one in "The One Who Spears Through the Ice," is human, and does not turn into an animal. He, too, is ice fishing. However, unlike the man in the previous episode, this man is not using magic to catch fish and is not, as far as we know, catching any fish. He is far less friendly and refuses to acknowledge K'etetaalkkaanee's presence. While the previous episodes' interactions have been friendly and non-threatening, the interaction in this episode—if we can call it an interaction at all—is unfriendly and non-threatening.

K'etetaalkkaanee tries to force the man to talk to him. He approaches the man in a friendly way and, in case the man has not noticed, tells him that he has come to him. K'etetaalkkaanee frequently repeats the phrase "Grandpa, I have come to you," but the man never replies. Finally, K'etetaalkkaanee has diarrhea and defecates into the hole where the man is fishing. This is the only act that causes the man to make a comment, albeit a strange one. The man pulls the line out of the water, licks it clean, and says that the sun rose that day in a different manner than usual. Presumably, he is saying that the sunrise foreshadowed K'etetaalkkaanee's unwelcome visit. This man is enigmatic, to say the least.

In this episode, as in the camp robber episode, Catherine Attla tells us the source of a popular saying. People say "Just like 'Grandpa, I Have Come to You'" about people who are not listening or paying attention to a conversation. Catherine says the saying is a particularly appropriate comment about the behavior of modern young people.

Chief Henry, in his version of this episode, says about the old man: "At'eeylo noh t'enoyee ghet'aanee," 'Apparently he was half-blind (or cross-eyed).' This phrase literally means that he cannot see past the folds under his eyes. His poor eyesight does not explain why he does not respond to K'etetaalkkaanee's statements, however. Eliza Jones says that the old man is not only half-blind, but also eccentric.

HORNED OWL

The great horned owl is the only animal that can regularly speak human language. It also has the ability to foretell the future, so when Koyukon people hear it speaking, they interpret its words as a prediction. Because the owl often predicts something bad, people generally do not like to hear it speak. When it does speak, it does not usually refer directly to a future event, but rather to an action that will be associated with the event. For example, it can predict the death of someone's family member by saying "*Tegheetseh*" 'You are going to cry.' It has also been said to predict good luck in catching game by saying "*Nek'etsaah bede tohlggool*" 'You (plural) will crunch your teeth on the belly meat of something.' Nelson (1983:106) relates an incident where the great horned owl was heard to say that the black bears were going to cry. There were few berries during the following two summers and the bears had difficulty surviving.

When I told Eliza Jones that I thought the owl's predictions were indirect, she was somewhat taken aback and said, "They're direct enough!" She then went on to say that horned owls speak Athabaskan, speak to Athabaskans, and therefore think like Athabaskans. If a horned owl tells you that you are going to cry, no more information is needed. You know that something unpleasant is going to happen. Eliza imagined with amusement what would happen if an owl were to speak to white people. The white people would offend the owl by asking for more information. Horned owls have always spoken to the people in *Denaakk'e*, but recently there have been reports of these owls speaking English too, presumably for the benefit of those younger people whose *Denaakk'e* is not very good. I do not know what the owls have said in English.

When K'etetaalkkaanee first meets the owl man and asks him for food, the man does not answer. K'etetaalkkaanee then looks at him and thinks that the man looks happy. The phrase used for this particular way of

The Episodes

thinking—being amused or happy but not showing it—is *tson yeneelenh*. This phrase is sometimes used to describe the thoughts that people have when they are amused at someone's actions but do not want to show it, for example, when listening to someone say something stupid or when watching a child try to split wood for the first time. The man in this episode is evidently happy, but is not smiling because, as we find out later, he does not have a mouth.

K'etetaalkkaanee and the man make a nice camp and cook the spruce grouse that the man is carrying. K'etetaalkkaanee offers the man some food, but the man points to the fire rather than taking the food. He wants K'etetaalkkaanee to burn the food. The man eats by burning food. In this respect, he is similar to the spirits of the dead, for whom people burn food and clothing as gifts. In the story of *K'it'inbaalots'ik* (Attla 1989), a girl burns clothing for her deceased father and sees him put on the clothing.

K'etetaalkkaanee notices that the reason the man cannot eat is that he does not have a mouth, so he jumps across the fire and makes one for him. The man is appreciative and K'etetaalkkaanee makes an anus for him as well. Although horned owls now have the ability to speak in human language, they speak as if their lips are tight. It is said that they do this because they speak with the mouth that K'etetaalkkaanee cut for them.

MARTEN

The marten episode differs from the preceding ones in at least two ways. This is the first episode in which someone shows aggression toward K'etetaalkkaanee, and it is also the first in which K'etetaalkkaanee shows any real aggression toward someone else. The marten episode is similar to "Grandpa, I Have Come to You" in that in both stories K'etetaalkkaanee meets someone who is unbalanced. Whereas the old man in "Grandpa, I Have Come to You" is apparently unaware of K'etetaalkkaanee's presence, the marten man thinks that he is with other people. The old man is a loner of few words, while the marten man fancies himself the leader of a company of imaginary companions to whom he is constantly speaking.

K'etetaalkkaanee hears the marten man talking to these "companions," telling them to follow and kill K'etetaalkkaanee. The marten man even follows the accepted manner of criticizing someone; instead of scolding them directly using the second person plural form of the words (*you, you guys, you fellows*), he uses the third person plural form (*they*). For instance, when the marten man finds a dummy of K'etetaalkkaanee in his snare, he says, "My goodness! Why didn't *they* do that in the first place? What were *they* doing, ruining the meat?" (*italics added*). When the marten man is addressing his companions in a non-scolding manner, of course, he uses the second person plural, which is translated as "you guys," "you fellas."

Another strange thing the marten does in this episode is to make a "toilet" for himself and his companions. He makes a pathway to the toilet by knocking down a spruce tree and then rolling in the snow, making an indentation in the snow—his toilet. This is peculiar to the marten in this episode. Martens do, however, walk on top of fallen spruce trees and that is why people set traps for them on leaning spruce.

At first, the marten man's actions are humorous, even when he places roasting sticks around the fire to cook the various parts of what he thinks is

The Episodes

his catch. It is sad, however, when he discovers that his catch is only a parka filled with rotten birch. He stops talking when he sees what he has actually caught in his snare. Koyukon people often view the cessation of speech as the climax of a story; for example, see a similar climax in "The One Who Secured His Axe to the Sky" in Attla 1989.

The marten man has some medicine power. After he cuts flesh from his own face and dices it so that each cooking stick will have a piece, he heals his wound by rubbing saliva on it, a method of healing sometimes used by Koyukon medicine people. It is not because he is insane, however, that he puts a piece of his flesh on each of the roasting sticks. He evidently knows that if he were to leave the sticks without food, there would be massive starvation in the future. This reflects a traditional Koyukon belief.

In the episodes before this in which animal people turned into animals, they did so in the night. In this episode, the marten man dies before being transformed. He makes the fire blaze, then jumps back and forth over it, erroneously thinking that the sound of the fire indicates an approaching forest fire. He is impaled on one of his cooking sticks, and he dies. He then turns into a marten and runs off on one of the trees that he knocked down when making the toilet.

In "Grandpa, I Have Come to You," K'etetaalkkaanee revealed a touch of meanness in himself by defecating into the old man's fishing hole. In the marten episode, this meanness is even more evident. The marten man is obviously mentally unsound, and K'etetaalkkaanee could easily escape him. Instead, he makes a dummy in his own likeness for the marten man to catch, then turns into a hawk owl so that he can watch the marten man and mock him. K'etetaalkkaanee, as a hawk owl, laughs at the marten man. The hawk owl is thus now recognized as a tease. "Just like a hawk owl" is currently said of people who tease others. Catherine Attla says that although hawk owls tease ravens, other birds tease the hawk owl because of the way K'etetaalkkaanee, as a hawk owl, mocked the marten in this episode. Robins, in particular, swoop toward hawk owls, veering away just before hitting them.

WOLVERINE

The wolverine man is, by far, the most spiritually powerful person K'etetaalkkaanee meets during the winter. Wolverines are considered by traditional Koyukon people to be the most powerful of the animals and are often called *doyonh* 'chief.' In this episode, the wolverine man is said to have several wives and many children. A large family is a sign of the wolverine man's high status. Compare this to the chickadee episode, in which a large family was indicative of the tendency of chickadees to gather in large numbers at the bases of spruce trees.

K'etetaalkkaanee finds a wolverine's broken tooth on a beaver lodge and picks it up. When he comes to the wolverine family, he is told by them that the man has broken his "axe." The family needs the axe in order to survive. In *Kk'edonts'ednee*, it is common for the teeth of animals or the beaks of birds to be called axes. It is an analogy of function as well as of form; teeth, beaks, and axes can all be used for chopping or cutting, and they are similarly shaped. Ironically, K'etetaalkkaanee found the wolverine's tooth on a beaver lodge, the lodge of an animal known for its ability to "chop" with its teeth.

If we compare this episode to the camp robber episode, we see some similarities. In both episodes the head of the household's ability to gather food is threatened, and the wife tells K'etetaalkkaanee that the family is in danger of starving because of it. The camp robber man, however, is far more pitiful than the wolverine man, lying under a blanket and wearing a grass splint.

In the marten episode K'etetaalkkaanee showed a bit of meanness, while in the wolverine episode he showed arrogance. K'etetaalkkaanee has the power to fix the wolverine's tooth, whereas the wolverine does not. The wolverine man asks K'etetaalkkaanee to fix his axe, and K'etetaalkkaanee cannot pass up the opportunity to brag a little and savor

The Episodes

the situation. He feigns humility by claiming, at first, to be unable to fix the tooth. He then claims to be too clumsy to fix the tooth, saying, in hyperbole uncharacteristic of Koyukon people, that he is so clumsy that he breaks the thunder in his snare. Of course, he is actually bragging about his strength and power in an only slightly indirect manner. To back up his claims, he breaks the tooth while supposedly trying to fix it. The wolverine man, however, is not at all deceived by K'etetaalkkaanee. He acknowledges K'etetaalkkaanee's power and asks him to fix the tooth, which K'etetaalkkaanee does.

Koyukon people do not worship heroes. They believe that being great does not necessarily imply perfection. Wolverines, on one hand, are respected as spiritually powerful animals, but on the other hand, it is recognized that wolverines can be mean and easily offended. Likewise, K'etetaalkkaanee is powerful, but he is also mean and often impolite. He offends the wolverine by saying that he has found a wolverine's tooth, using the common word for wolverine, *neltseet*. The wolverine thinks that K'etetaalkkaanee is saying that he messes his bed and clothing, because the word *neltseet* sounds similar to the word *neldetseet* 'he has continuous diarrhea.'

Women avoid offending wolverines by referring to them as parka trimming, *tl'onjee*. Parka trim is usually made from wolverine fur. This is a good example of the way in which Koyukon people treat animals with respect and circumspection.

SHOVEL MAN

All of us, when presented with something new, try to relate it to something we are familiar with. For example, we may try to compare the animal people in *Kk'edonts'ednee* to characters in fairy tales or stories we have heard, or we may try to compare the main characters to comic book heroes such as Spiderman or Batman. The entire cycle of *K'etetaalkkaanee* contains many strange events and encounters, some of which are at least a little mysterious, even to Koyukon people. For non-Athabaskans, who may already be struggling to understand cultural differences within these stories, this strangeness can be the final straw, making a story completely bewildering, especially if they are not able to compare a situation to one that they are already familiar with.

Several non-natives have told me that they find the episode of the shovel man quite obscure. In fact, the events that take place in this episode are no more unusual than the events in other episodes. I suspect that one reason "The Shovel Man" is baffling to non-natives is that the idea of a personified shovel—one who lives in a house, eats rabbits, and sings—is completely lacking in our culture.

An unusual aspect of the shovel man's behavior is that he never enters his house. Once he finds out that someone else is there, he starts singing "Who came in my absence?" over and over. This song is not a medicine song, but rather an indirect request for *K'etetaalkkaanee* to leave. The shovel man did not want any visitors. Eliza Jones told me that the reason the shovel man did not want visitors and did not want to enter his own house while someone else was inside, is that he was shy.

K'etetaalkkaanee's behavior is rude by Athabaskan standards. He should have understood the shovel man's request for him to leave, and he should have left. Instead, *K'etetaalkkaanee* says, "Can't he enter his own house?" This is reminiscent of the rabbit episode in which he spoke gruffly

The Episodes

to the mother rabbit for singing in the middle of the night. In both episodes this rudeness triggers a transformation. K'etetaalkkaanee heard the results of the transformation while he was lying in the dark. In the rabbit episode, he heard the rabbits bouncing out the door, while in the shovel man episode, he heard the shovel man sliding off the roof.

Traditional Koyukon people believe that both animate and inanimate things can have power, or more correctly, *yeege*. This power is usually associated with hunting and trapping implements, such as traps, snare carriers, and so on. To my knowledge, however, shovels are not said to have *yeege*. It is perhaps surprising that they do not have *yeege*, because the shovel is personified in this story, but it is not surprising that, with the notable exception of the wolverine man, all of K'etetaalkkaanee's hosts in the winter episodes are not considered to have powerful *yeege*.

HAWK OWL

In several previous episodes, K'etetaalkkaanee came to a family whose provider was gone or whose livelihood was threatened. Several times the children, or the wife and children, were home alone. This episode is no different; the provider, a hawk owl man, is out hunting and, as it turns out, his livelihood—even his life—is in danger. K'etetaalkkaanee seems unconcerned.

After K'etetaalkkaanee arrives, he eats and then rests. While he is resting, one of the hawk owl children runs into the house and says that the children heard their father calling for help. Everyone runs outside and hears the hawk owl man yelling that he is being dragged into the woods by something—a rabbit, as we later find out. The man's wife is concerned, of course, and tells him to let go of the rabbit. He does not let go, however, because he does not want to lose his axe. He finally is able to pull out his axe, taking a little piece of fat with it. In the story, Catherine Attla comments that the axe is perhaps the hawk owl's beak. It is said that a bird person's axe, in *Kk'edonts'ednee*, becomes his beak after he is transformed into a bird. The shoulder blade of a rabbit now has a notched section, said to have been made by the hawk owl man's axe and to be proof that the events related in *K'etetaalkkaanee* actually took place.

Presumably K'etetaalkkaanee could help the man, but instead he watches the entire scene passively. The hawk owl woman, also violates Koyukon standards of behavior and, quite presumptuously, tells her children to take dishes to the woods to collect whatever food their father has caught. As I have written, it is considered bad taste and harmful to one's luck to show optimism or confidence about catching or killing animals.

The hawk owl man has injured himself in the woods, and the children mistakenly gather some of their father's blood in their dishes, thinking that it is from the animal he has been hunting. They eat this blood and

The Episodes

become sick. Again, K'etetaalkkaanee does nothing to help, but only watches passively; perhaps he knows that the family does not need his help. The hawk owl man tells his wife to get some mice feet that he inherited from his father. With the power of these mice feet, he is able to heal his children. Mice feet are not commonly associated with medicine power, although some medicine men may get power from them. It is possible that the hawk owl man has power from the mice feet because hawk owls often eat mice.

K'etetaalkkaanee plays a somewhat cruel trick on this family. The father has brought home his catch, a small piece of fat from the shoulder blade of a rabbit. The hawk owls are excited about having a visitor and want to prepare him a nice meal from this piece of fat. Instead of being properly grateful, K'etetaalkkaanee purposely steps on the piece of fat so that it sticks to the bottom of his foot. He then lies back and watches while the family looks all around for the "meal." One of the children finally sees it, and K'etetaalkkaanee claims, as he does in many other episodes, that he had not been himself. As in the camp robber and chickadee episodes, he sees that they are about to feed him only a little bit of food—not enough for one person, let alone an entire family. However, as in the chickadee episode, the food expands as it is prepared and K'etetaalkkaanee has plenty of good food to eat. In the story, Catherine Attla makes the point that Indian ice cream, a mixture of fat and other things, such as berries or flaked fish, expands as it is made.

Hawk owls are relatively small, having wingspans of about thirty-three inches, and being about fourteen inches long. Of Alaska's owls, only the boreal owl is smaller; the short-eared owl is about the same length as a hawk owl, but has a greater wingspan. The *Denaakk'e* word for the hawk owl, *k'etleedzodze*, means 'small head.' The hawk owl man's difficulty in catching the rabbit is uncharacteristic of the skills associated with the hawk owl, but perhaps can be attributed to the man's small stature. Hawk owls are now considered skillful hunters. Koyukon people sometimes keep hawk owls as pets. The children of a family raising a hawk owl are expected to acquire the hawk owl's hunting skill, as well as its cleanliness (Nelson 1983:107-108).

THE ONE MARRIED TO HIS OWN HAND

This episode is mystifying. Chief Henry also tells it in his version of *K'etetaalkkaanee*, but he has no more detail in his version than Catherine Attla has in hers. The man whom *K'etetaalkkaanee* visits has no wife, but *K'etetaalkkaanee* overhears him talking to someone as a man would talk to a wife. The man, as it turns out, is "married" to his own hand. In fact, it seems that he has impregnated his own hand; in the middle of the night, *K'etetaalkkaanee* hears him say that a birth is about to take place and looks to see the man pulling a baby from between his fingers.

The man's new offspring, however, is not an ordinary baby. It is a piece of rabbit fur. Nowadays, people cut the fur, including the tail, from the rear of a rabbit and use it as trap bait. These pieces of fur are called *gguh let t'yooze*, and it is one of these that *K'etetaalkkaanee* sees the man pull from between his fingers. All newborns are now called this, in a contracted form of the phrase: *ggottl'oyooze*. The story does not explain, however, why babies are called this. I do not know whether it has to do with the tails, or with the man, or with something else.

The story might have been more explicit at one time, but perhaps has been edited to make it more appropriate for young people to hear. It is acceptable for a storyteller to omit parts of a story that are not appropriate for a particular audience, and Catherine Attla may have heard an edited version. On the other hand, this episode may never have been longer, because Athabaskans consider it in poor taste to be overly explicit.

THE ONE WITH SNOWSHOES BENT UP ON BOTH ENDS

This episode and the following one, "Where He Spent the Spring," together form a turning point, a literal and figurative change of direction, in the story. Although we are never told the direction of K'etetaalkkaanee's winter travel, there is some indication that he initially journeys upriver. In the episodes following these two, he travels downriver. The difference between the summer and winter stories is discussed in chapter 3, but it is probably symbolic that when K'etetaalkkaanee comes across the snowshoe tracks of the man in this episode, he claims to be disoriented and confused.

The type of snowshoe worn by the man in this episode is not currently used by the Koyukon people. The snowshoes are described as being rounded and bent up on both ends. Eliza Jones has said that she thinks K'etetaalkkaanee should have known which way the tracks were going anyway, because one can tell someone's direction of travel in snowshoes by how the snow is disturbed. She speculates that perhaps K'etetaalkkaanee could not tell because it was almost spring and the snow was wet.

K'etetaalkkaanee walks back and forth, confused by the tracks. The man comes up from behind him and accuses K'etetaalkkaanee of laughing at his tracks. As he has before, K'etetaalkkaanee blames his behavior on his hunger. The man takes pity on K'etetaalkkaanee and tells him where to find some game that the man has killed.

The man tells K'etetaalkkaanee of this game in a very unusual fashion, however. He tells K'etetaalkkaanee to walk until he comes to a place where the man has had diarrhea, and then to walk to another place where he has had diarrhea. Although the man does not mention that he has killed game at these places, K'etetaalkkaanee understands that the man is directing him to something important, and he thanks the man. K'etetaalkkaanee wonders what the man is talking about, but according to Koyukon courtesy, he does not ask for any more specific information. He

The One With Snowshoes Bent Up on Both Ends

follows the man's directions and comes to two places where the man has had diarrhea. In one place he finds a bear in its den, and in the other he finds some caribou that the man has killed. There is enough meat not only for his immediate needs, but also to last the entire spring.

WHERE HE SPENT THE SPRING

This episode has two parts: the making of the first canoe, and K'etetaalkkaanee's courtship of the fox woman. It is the longest of the episodes and the only one in which he spends more than one night in the same place. He spends the entire spring at this place, which is said to be on some high ground along the riverbank.

When K'etetaalkkaanee builds his first canoe, he combines imagination and observation to come up with a model, a spruce grouse breastbone, for the bowpiece. Similar thinking is required in the creation and solving of traditional Koyukon riddles (Thompson 1984:20ff.). K'etetaalkkaanee uses experimentation, on the other hand, to decide which bark to use as the canoe's covering. Catherine Attla gives us the reasons for his various choices: He uses spruce wood for the frame because birch is too heavy; he uses green roots for the bowpieces because green wood is easier to carve; and he uses birch bark because it floats the best.

One evening, before going to sleep, he gathers birch bark and roots, with which to sew the birch bark on the frame, and lays out everything in preparation for the next day's work. He wakes up the following morning and sees that the bark has been laid against the frame and is ready to be sewed on. He pretends to sleep that night and, looking through a peephole in his blanket, sees small animals and birds sewing the birch bark on the frame. The small, fur-bearing animals are associated with riches, and the birds are associated with good luck. All the animals he sees are women; sewing is considered women's work.

This part of the story most closely resembles European folklore, in which people often benefit from the nightly activities of helpers. For example, Rumpelstiltskin spun straw into gold for a girl whose life was threatened.

Not all the customs established in *Kk'edonts'ednee* are good ones. This

Where He Spent the Spring

episode establishes the bad habit of sewing sloppily in places that will not be seen. A boreal owl woman makes coarse stitches in an area that will be covered up, saying that it doesn't matter because no one will see. In Chief Henry's version of *K'etetaalkkaanee*, and in Big Sophie Sam's, it is a raven woman who makes the coarse stitches.

This episode is the first in which *K'etetaalkkaanee* shows romantic feelings. It is also the first in which there is any indication of his using medicine power to influence someone else's thoughts. When he looks at the women sewing his canoe, he falls in love with the fox woman, who is so beautiful that her face glows. He wills her to lose her awl, and because her awl is as important to her as an axe is to a man, she continues to search for it after everyone else has left. *K'etetaalkkaanee* is then able to jump up and grab her. She yells and barks, however, until he lets her go.

K'etetaalkkaanee remains at his camp and continues to work on the canoe, but he thinks about the fox woman, and after he has finished the canoe, he goes off looking for her. He comes to an underground house where all the women live. One by one, the women come out to him, offering themselves to him in lieu of the fox woman, their older sister. He rejects some of the women because of minor faults, but he grabs for two of them, both weasels, only to have them draw back into the house before he can get them. In this episode, *K'etetaalkkaanee* is led to the fox woman. The entrance to the underground house is too narrow for him to enter, but the animal and bird women expand it for him with their power by singing a medicine song, then exiting the house all at once.

The boreal owl is a humorous character in this episode. She is the one who sews sloppily on the canoe and is said to be slow-moving and nearly blind. Koyukon people think of the boreal owl as being slow and "blind" in the daylight. Nelson says that people describe someone who is dull and slow as being like a boreal owl (1983:109). When the boreal owl woman comes out of the house to offer herself to *K'etetaalkkaanee*, Catherine Attla quotes her, speaking slowly. *K'etetaalkkaanee* rejects her because of her poor eyesight. After all the women have brought in some food to celebrate the union of the fox woman and *K'etetaalkkaanee*, the mouse tries to blame the boreal owl for eating food the mouse woman has stored away. In fact, the mouse woman herself has eaten the food. The boreal owl defends herself and accuses the mouse woman of eating her own food. These

The Episodes

days people often jokingly blame the boreal owl for eating food they themselves have eaten. Boreal owls are, in fact, known for hoarding or saving their food, which is considered a good trait.

K'etetaalkkaanee paddles off in his new canoe with his new wife, but later he has to leave his wife behind. While they are paddling, the sun shines on her and she gets hot. Foxes smell bad in hot weather. She starts crying from the heat, and K'etetaalkkaanee cannot stand her smell. He finally lets her out on the shore and she runs away, barking. On the surface, he leaves her behind because she stinks. On a deeper level, he leaves her behind because, traveling on a medicine journey, he has to travel alone.

FISHHOOK

This episode is the first of the summer episodes, and, true to the summer episodes, K'etetaalkkaanee plays a prank on someone for no apparent reason. Upon seeing a man fishing, K'etetaalkkaanee lands his canoe, turns into a northern pike, swims to where the man is fishing, and steals his fishhook. He then swims back to his canoe and turns into a man again. He paddles downriver to the man, with the man's fishhook hidden in his bowpiece.

The man immediately recognizes K'etetaalkkaanee, having jerked the northern pike's head out of the water when it stole his hook. Evidently, K'etetaalkkaanee retained some of his features when he changed into a fish. K'etetaalkkaanee and the man then argue; the man accuses K'etetaalkkaanee of stealing his fishhook and K'etetaalkkaanee denies all knowledge of the matter.

This episode is similar to "The One Who Spears through the Ice." In both, K'etetaalkkaanee plays a prank on a fisherman, and his deception is discovered. In both episodes, K'etetaalkkaanee's prank threatens the other man's livelihood. In this episode, K'etetaalkkaanee is threatened too. The man warns K'etetaalkkaanee that he will completely dismantle his canoe to find his fishhook. K'etetaalkkaanee and the man do not become angry with each other. They call each other "friend" and speak calmly to one another. Catherine Attla speculates that they were perhaps afraid of each other's power. This episode is the first in which K'etetaalkkaanee is said to feel fear. The outcome of such encounters between medicine men is determined by their relative degrees of medicine power. In this case, it appears that they are evenly matched. The man gets his fishhook back, but does not harm K'etetaalkkaanee.

The fish that he turns into in this episode is the *taah dletone* 'large northern pike.' These fish rest motionless under the water and are described in almost mythical terms (see, for example, Nelson 1983:74).

HOW UNLIKELY TO BE HANGING BY THE NECK FROM THAT

Some of K'etetaalkkaanee's actions can be explained only by foreknowledge of his fate. He gained that foreknowledge through the dreams he had about his journey and through the adventures he has had along the way. In this episode, he comes to a weir, gives himself a bloody nose, and pretends to be dead. This action indicates some kind of prior knowledge.

No clue is given about the cannibalistic nature of the weir's owner. The events in this episode appear in stories widely diffused across northern North America (for a discussion of this motif, see "The Wolverine's Trap" in Rooth 1980:5-38), in Canadian Athabaskan as part of various traveler cycles, in Canadian Eskimo traditions as the origin of fog story, and in Siberia as part of the Chukchi tradition (Bogoras 1902:608-10). In most of these non-Koyukon traditions, the person pretending to be dead in the trap is trying to catch an ogre (often a wolverine) who has killed others.

K'etetaalkkaanee's foreknowledge is of a different kind than that found in most other stories. It is true that his brothers have left home and never returned, but he has dreamt of his journey. Ellen Frank of Minto said that in her tradition, while the traveler is still a child, an old man warns him of his future.

In this episode, K'etetaalkkaanee is in greater danger than he was in previous episodes, but he is still in control. As in the marten episode, he encounters someone who thinks of him as game. In the marten episode, however, he was removed from his pursuer, perched in a tree away from danger. In this episode, he is right next to danger. The cannibal man is more powerful than the marten man. In Big Sophie Sam's version of *K'etetaalkkaanee*, the man is a wolverine man. Catherine Attla does not say what kind of man he is, but says that K'etetaalkkaanee is picked up and carried to the cannibal's camp. On the way, K'etetaalkkaanee forces the man to fall down twice, digging his knee into the man's back.

How Unlikely to be Hanging by the Neck from That

Catherine says, "Apparently he [K'etetaalkkaanee] was trying to wound him." The man is injured and tired by the time he gets to his house.

It is puzzling that the man still thinks K'etetaalkkaanee is dead, even though K'etetaalkkaanee moves and jerks when the man tickles him and hits him against the ground. Catherine later tells us that K'etetaalkkaanee has made the man careless and caused him to leave K'etetaalkkaanee outside, unattended. K'etetaalkkaanee probably also uses his medicine power to make the man think he is dead, even though his body jerks when tickled. K'etetaalkkaanee uses his medicine power again to make the man's club disappear, then reappear in K'etetaalkkaanee's hand just as he is about to kill the man and his family.

This episode contains a section that might seem, to non-Athabaskans, to be added on. For those used to European-American literature, it is understood that a story should lead to a climax, and then the tension should dissipate fairly rapidly. The Koyukon tradition, on the other hand, allows—perhaps encourages—a secondary climax. In this episode, a girl in puberty seclusion is living away from her family's house and cries when her mother stops coming to see her. She wipes her nose on a tree, and her mucus becomes spruce pitch. Her head merges with the tree and becomes a burl.

WHEN HE SHOT AN ARROW INTO MINK'S LEG

Three other written Koyukon versions of this episode exist. Chief Henry's and Big Sophie Sam's versions are unpublished and in *Denaakk'e* only. Madeline Solomon's version of this episode is written in *Denaakk'e* and translated into English in *K'edonts'ednee* (Jones and Solomon 1975:9-12, 18-20). In Catherine Attla's version, K'etetaalkkaanee gets past two dogs, which are actually bears guarding a cache, by throwing one of his mittens to each dog. He takes some fish and starts to paddle downriver again. He sees a mink woman who has been sent by the people in a summer camp to see why the dogs have been barking. He shoots her in the leg with the shaft of an arrow (so as not to kill her), and she runs downstream, screaming. A chickadee man, a great gray owl man, and a boreal owl man all try to heal the mink woman's leg, but cannot. Finally, an unnamed medicine man discovers that K'etetaalkkaanee is responsible and predicts his arrival the following morning. The next morning K'etetaalkkaanee lands his canoe by the village and, afraid to get out of the canoe, has them bring the mink woman to him, where he heals her.

Madeline Solomon's version is somewhat different. In it, K'etetaalkkaanee does not show the same fear that he does in Attla's. Even though his arrival is predicted by one of the medicine men, he still seems to be in control. In Attla's version, a light flashes on him while his arrival is being predicted. Furthermore, in Attla's version, he heals the mink and leaves quickly, while in Solomon's version, after he heals the mink's leg, the people give him food to show their gratitude. A note at the end of Solomon's version tells us that K'etetaalkkaanee's motivation for shooting the mink was to acquire food. No motivation is mentioned in Attla's version. Solomon's version does not mention K'etetaalkkaanee's taking food from a cache.

Attla says that the fish in the cache might have been "springtime" fish.

When He shot an Arrow Into Mink's Leg

In the spring, while the water is high, people often catch whitefish and northern pike. Like salmon, they can be dried. They must be eaten quickly, however, because they get very dry, so they are not usually saved for the winter. Nowadays, they are eaten in the summer, between salmon runs. Attla also says in this episode that the fish were put into small bundles. At that time, people used willow bark to bundle the fish and, because willow bark is not strong, the bundles had to be small.

Chief Henry's and Big Sophie Sam's versions are much shorter than either Catherine Attla's or Madeline Solomon's. Furthermore, if I am translating correctly from the written *Denaakk'e*, both Chief Henry and Madeline Solomon combine this episode with the little people episode. The mink's village is a village of little people.

In Attla's and Solomon's versions, the bird men sing medicine songs to try to heal the mink woman. In both versions the great gray owl man says that he has been pushed under water. By this phrase, he means that whoever injured the mink is too powerful for him; he cannot help the mink woman. In both versions the chickadee man and the boreal owl man say almost exactly the same things, but in neither case are the words translatable. The *yoonaane* in the boreal owl's song, "*Yoonaanaa loolooloolooloo*," means 'far across,' but that is the only recognizable word.

Finally, someone with more power than K'etetaalkkaanee works on the mink woman. In both versions, this man predicts K'etetaalkkaanee's arrival and names him. In Solomon's version he is named *Taakk'ool'taan* and in Attla's he is named *Taakk'ool'taan*. Attla says this powerful medicine man sings that he has been offered a skin bag filled to the navel with oil. Such a gift is very valuable, and he asks his spirit helper not to fail him and the people who have given him the bag. Solomon says the words are part of the great gray owl man's song. In Attla's story, the medicine man predicts that K'etetaalkkaanee will come when the sun shines on the water. These words evoke an image associated with summer mornings.

This is the second episode in which K'etetaalkkaanee's nose is mentioned. In the "Fishhook," where K'etetaalkkaanee turned into a northern pike and stole a man's fishhook, the man recognized K'etetaalkkaanee by his nose. Eliza Jones has told me that K'etetaalkkaanee might have had a prominent nose. Northern pike have long noses, and grosbeaks, the form K'etetaalkkaanee takes in the end, have stubby, curved beaks.

WHEN HE GRABBED RAVEN'S BEAK

In a previous episode, K'etetaalkkaanee showed that he had more power than a wolverine man. In this episode, he outsmarts Raven. By no means is either task a small one. We know from these accomplishments that K'etetaalkkaanee is very powerful. On one level, this story is humorous, but on another level, it is a serious demonstration of K'etetaalkkaanee's power. Such duality is present in all stories about Raven and in many of the episodes in *K'etetaalkkaanee*.

In this episode, Raven is characteristically looking for food. His hunting partner, a seagull, sees K'etetaalkkaanee lying on the beach with a bloody nose and alerts Raven, saying, "*Doyeh k'etlaanh!*" 'Down below, something is lying motionless.' Raven asks the seagull if he can smell it, wanting to make sure K'etetaalkkaanee is really dead. The seagull says he does smell it, so Raven lands next to K'etetaalkkaanee, prepared to eat him.

The word *seagull* is a translation of the *Denaakk'e* word *baats*, which refers to both herring gulls and mew gulls. It is appropriate that a gull is Raven's hunting partner. Both gulls and ravens are scavengers that eat rotten meat. Nelson sums up the Koyukon feeling toward gulls as "compassionate disdain" (1983:99); the birds are harmless but filthy. Seagulls are considered far less powerful than ravens, and in a way, these birds can be viewed as complementary opposites. Seagulls are associated with water and ravens more with the forest; seagulls are white and ravens black; seagulls are uninspiring and ravens are awe-inspiring. As we would expect, in this episode the seagull is subordinate to Raven, doing what he is told, acting fearful. When the seagulls and ravens approach K'etetaalkkaanee in a white and black mass, he shoots his arrows at the ravens, and when he drives them away, the seagulls follow.

After Raven lands next to K'etetaalkkaanee, he cautiously inspects him, and then prepares to peck out K'etetaalkkaanee's eyes. I am told that

When He Grabbed Raven's Beak

ravens peck the eyes of carrion they plan to eat. The way this action is described in *K'etetaalkkaanee* is allusion, albeit a vague one, to the connection between a bird person's axe and a bird's beak. Catherine Attla says that Raven "chops" at *K'etetaalkkaanee's* eyes. She does not use the normal verb for "peck," but instead uses the verb meaning "chop with an axe." *K'etetaalkkaanee* grabs Raven's beak and Raven pleads with him to give it back. This situation is similar to the episode in which the wolverine man asks *K'etetaalkkaanee* to repair his axe, or rather his tooth. Raven, however, shows none of the dignity of the wolverine man; he begs and threatens *K'etetaalkkaanee*. After Raven stops pleading, he attacks *K'etetaalkkaanee* in two awesome, yet unsuccessful, ways.

First, he leads a giant mass of ravens and seagulls toward *K'etetaalkkaanee*, then he and his wife cause the cliffs to open and close like scissors across the river on which *K'etetaalkkaanee* is paddling. *K'etetaalkkaanee* turns into a creature called a *netsoo t'aaghedekkone* in order to slip through the opening and closing cliffs. The name of this creature literally means 'your grandmother's needle.' Little is known about this creature except that it is the size and shape of a needle. In the story about Raven killing a water monster (Attla 1989), the "monster" is, in fact, a *netsoo t'aaghedakkone*, although I have the impression that it is somewhat bigger in that story than in *K'etetaalkkaanee*. Eliza Jones speculates that *netsoo t'aaghedekkone* could refer to the slimy sculpin, a very ugly fish that is called *netsoo tlee* 'Your grandmother's head.'

Because neither of his attacks works, Raven is forced to bargain with *K'etetaalkkaanee*. Raven agrees to lead a group of caribou to *K'etetaalkkaanee* if *K'etetaalkkaanee* agrees not to shoot the caribou's leader. Of course, *K'etetaalkkaanee* shoots the leader and Raven flies out of the caribou's mouth. *K'etetaalkkaanee* kills the other caribou and takes them with him, leaving the carcass of the leader floating in the water for Raven. Raven, however, does not float on the water, so he cannot get to the carcass. Instead, the carcass is covered with seagulls. Raven has to use his power to make the caribou float to the shore where he can eat it. Only a very powerful person can outwit Raven.

WHERE HIS OLDER BROTHER'S SKULL CAME ASHORE TO HIM

This is the only episode in which K'etetaalkkaanee needs help from someone else to avoid danger. While he is standing by a lake, the skull of his older brother comes to him and tells him to sleep with a stone on his chest to protect his heart. The woman whom K'etetaalkkaanee visits is a cannibal who kills people by sitting on them with her sharp tail. She then discards their remains in a lake behind her house. She tans human skins as if they were animal skins; to her, other humans are animals. She has already killed K'etetaalkkaanee's brother in this manner and intends to do the same thing to K'etetaalkkaanee. She offers him some dried meat, which he refuses because he sees some human hairs dried into it.

It is ironic that, although she is a murderous cannibal, the woman is also friendly toward K'etetaalkkaanee. She acts this way to avoid suspicion, but she also seems to have a genuine interest in being married to him—at least for a time. She does everything possible to please him. It is because of her eagerness that K'etetaalkkaanee is able to escape. The morning after she attempts, but fails, to kill him by sitting on him, he tells her that he is hot and wants some cool water from a side stream. While she is getting the water, he manages to cut loose his canoe and paddle away.

Different episodes of K'etetaalkkaanee evoke different reactions from the audience. Some of them are amusing, such as the Raven episode and the episode entitled "How Unlikely to be Hanging by the Neck From That." Others, such as "Grandpa, I Have Come to You," are mysterious and thought-provoking. This episode engenders two emotional responses, pity and disgust. We feel sadness or pity when K'etetaalkkaanee finds his brother. This episode is the first in which K'etetaalkkaanee shows emotion; he cries after seeing his brother. His apparent lack of sentimentality before this point, even toward his pleading mother, may make the impact of his emotion in this episode more powerful.

Where His Older Brother's Skull Came Ashore to Him

More prevalent in this episode, however, is the disgust and horror engendered by references to tanning human skin and eating dried human flesh. These references sound even more graphic in the *Denaakk'e* original than in the English translation. Also adding to the emotional effect of this story is the description of K'etetaalkkaanee waking up under raw beaver skin with the woman sleeping next to him. Evidently she is not as careful about preparing beaver hides as she is in preparing human ones. The verb stem used to describe his rude awakening is *-tlaakk*, which conveys an image of something soft and wet, and implies that the woman did not have time to dry and tan the beaver hides properly.

HE MADE A GRAVE FOR THE GIRL WHO HAD BEEN GIVEN TO HIM

K'etetaalkkaanee next comes to a family in which there is a girl of marriageable age. As was the case with the animal families he encountered in the winter episodes, this family is happy to see him. According to the father, few, if any other, people live nearby. The father wants K'etetaalkkaanee to marry his daughter. A son-in-law is expected to provide for his wife's family, and the man hopes that K'etetaalkkaanee will stay. For some reason, K'etetaalkkaanee agrees to this and lives with the girl and her family for a while.

But K'etetaalkkaanee is on a medicine journey, and he cannot stay in one place or take anyone with him. He does not, however, refuse the family's generosity. Instead, he resolves the situation by killing first the girl and then the girl's father. He kills the girl in a very unusual way. He makes a grave for her, has her sit in it until it is comfortable, and then he stabs her. No reason is given for his using this particular method to kill her. Perhaps he is showing her some kindness, or perhaps he is trying to save himself the trouble of putting her in the grave after killing her.

Non-Athabaskans appalled by this episode should realize that the murder appears as senseless to Koyukon people as to anyone else. This senselessness is perhaps somewhat mitigated by the fact that the story takes place in *Kk'edonts'ednee*, a time quite different from our own. What is considered normal in *Kk'edonts'ednee* might be unacceptable to people living now. This episode should illustrate, however, that it is incorrect to call K'etetaalkkaanee a "hero." Nor should he be called a "trickster" in the same way that Raven is. His actions are not motivated by hunger; they are done for a reason unknown to us.

WHEN HE CAME TO HIS ENSLAVED OLDER BROTHER

As translated, the title of this episode indicates that K'etetaalkkaanee's brother is "enslaved," but the translation is a bit euphemistic. The *De-naakk'e* title actually means something closer to "When He Came to His Brother Who Was Used for Excrement." While K'etetaalkkaanee is visiting a village of people, a baby makes a mess and someone says, "*Ho no'o tson' gheneet beghenee ukku'uh'os*" 'Send for the person who cleans up excrement.' As far as we know, slavery was not present in traditional Athabaskan society. Orphans often had low status and were asked to do menial chores, but not the kind of chore K'etetaalkkaanee's brother is asked to perform. He is forced to clean up the baby's mess with pieces of his own parka.

This is the second and last episode in which K'etetaalkkaanee shows emotion. He cries over the fate of his brother, as he did in the episode in which his other brother's skull came to him. These two episodes contrast sharply with the episode in which he killed his wife and her father in what is best described as a "playful" manner. In the following episode, "Little People," he again appears callous. These fluctuations within the last few episodes highlight the increased danger and power to which he is exposed. Emotional highs contrast with emotionless actions and, in the last two episodes, a village of numerous little people contrasts with a camp with one giant woman. The episodes, and K'etetaalkkaanee's behavior, become less and less predictable as the story progresses.

This episode is the third in which it is made clear that K'etetaalkkaanee, as a medicine traveler, has to make his journey alone. In the spring camp episode, his fox woman wife had too strong an odor and he had to let her out of the canoe on the riverbank. In the episode in which he made a grave, he simply killed his wife so that he could travel alone. In this episode, however, he wants desperately to bring his brother along

The Episodes

with him, but he cannot. He tries, but his canoe simply will not move while his brother is in it. K'etetaalkkaanee takes pieces off his canoe, apparently to lighten it, but he still cannot get around more than a few bends in the river. In the end, he hunts for some food to leave with his brother, and then he leaves him behind.

LITTLE PEOPLE

In this episode, as in the previous one, K'etetaalkkaanee kills an entire village of people. In the previous episode, he did so to avenge his brother's enslavement, so it was perhaps to be expected. In "Little People," however, he kills the entire village for no apparent reason. The little people are no threat to him; they are too small to harm him, and they treat him well, offering him food.

K'etetaalkkaanee's killing these people probably seems arbitrary and cruel to anyone, but perhaps more so to those familiar with the tradition of lovable little people—elves, leprechauns, gnomes, fairies, Tom Thumb, and others. Catherine Attla has said that her grandfather told her that K'etetaalkkaanee killed these little people for the sake of the future. He knew that if he let them live, the world would not be properly balanced.

Regardless of K'etetaalkkaanee's motivation, the little people in this story appear helpless and pitiful. Things that are deadly serious to these little people are insignificant to K'etetaalkkaanee. The food they feed him is like dust to him. While the little people follow K'etetaalkkaanee's canoe in their little canoes made from leaves, K'etetaalkkaanee bounces his canoe, making waves that swamp the other canoes. Later they chase him on foot, shooting tiny arrows that have little effect on him. When he pretends to be dead, they start a small fire on him to burn him, but the fire burns out quickly and does K'etetaalkkaanee no harm.

When he first comes to the village, it appears to him that the ground is moving, like a flame flickering. The village is bustling with the activity of the little people. It is not uncommon in other literatures to use a contrast in size to highlight a contrast in power and significance. Jonathan Swift does so in two episodes of *Gulliver's Travels*, one about Lilliput, a land of warlike little people, and one about a land of peaceful giants, Brobdingnag. Krauss (1982) compares these episodes in *Gulliver's Travels* to two Eyak

The Episodes

stories told by Anna Nelson Harry. Both convey similar messages: "Men are foolish to forget that power and importance are relative, and that our place in this world or this universe is not a simple matter" (p. 38). All of our own seriousness and bustling would, no doubt, seem insignificant to someone larger and more powerful. If this episode of *K'etetaalkkaanee* is intended to convey any message, it has less to do with the apparent cruelty of *K'etetaalkkaanee* than with the apparent insignificance of the little people. Perhaps we are expected to realize that our place in the world is relative.

The little people call the caribou that crosses the river *nots'etneegeey* 'one that is rarely seen.' This is not an ordinary or even an alternate word for caribou. Presumably, *K'etetaalkkaanee* does not know what they are talking about until he sees the caribou, unless he has dreamt about it. In Big Sophie Sam's version of this episode, the little people call the caribou the same thing, but in Chief Henry's story, the caribou is called *neelts'aakkaaghelggez* 'one with cleft feet.' Another way in which Chief Henry's version is different is that when the little people and *K'etetaalkkaanee* are hunting the caribou, *K'etetaalkkaanee*'s waves are inadvertent, and he lifts up their little canoes with his paddle and places them safely in the back of his own canoe.

In Catherine Attla's and Big Sophie Sam's versions, *K'etetaalkkaanee* cooks an owl's head over a campfire while the little people huddle around. The eyes burst and the little people are killed. In Chief Henry's version, however, the little people are gathered in two underground houses, and *K'etetaalkkaanee* drops an eye down the smoke hole of each house. The eyes burst when they land in the fire, killing the inhabitants.

GIANT WOMAN

The woman in this episode is friendly and passive, but she is also a giant who leads K'etetaalkkaanee to his demise. Her passivity contrasts with the frantic activity of the little people. The activity and hostility of the little people posed no threat to K'etetaalkkaanee, but the passivity of the giant woman does. K'etetaalkkaanee makes advances to her, so she has him prove his strength by knocking down a tree. He then proceeds to make love to her, but he is too small; he is sucked inside her and drowns. She does not drown him intentionally; she is simply too big for him.

The giant woman is called "grandmother" in the *Denaakk'e* original. She and her husband are called "grandparents" not because they are related to K'etetaalkkaanee, but because they are older than he. When the woman asks K'etetaalkkaanee to knock down the tree, she says, "Are you sure that you're big enough to follow your grandpa's path?" His "grandfather" is actually the woman's husband, who is probably off hunting somewhere.

After drowning inside the woman, K'etetaalkkaanee floats out, covered with her blood. He becomes a pine grosbeak, with red markings, and flies away. The transformation is permanent; he is never to become a man again. Even though K'etetaalkkaanee was a powerful medicine man, pine grosbeaks are not viewed by Koyukon people as having special power.

Many non-Athabaskans expect stories to end either tragically or happily. Such people are probably bewildered by the end of *K'etetaalkkaanee*, wondering whether it is happy or tragic. To Koyukon people, it is neither. K'etetaalkkaanee's end was inevitable. He probably even knew that his journey would end in this way, because he had dreamt of the entire journey before undertaking it. The ending, thus, is not sad. Perhaps K'etetaalkkaanee is happy as a pine grosbeak.

Chapter 2

Overview

WINTER AND SUMMER STORIES

The cycle of *K'etetaalkkaanee* stories is divided into two parts, winter stories and summer stories, with the story of where he spent the spring as a divider. There are some obvious differences between these two sets of stories, as well as some more subtle ones. Some are to be expected because of the respective characteristics of summer and winter, while others are a result of the structure of the story. Perhaps the most obvious difference between winter and summer, for *K'etetaalkkaanee*, is that in the winter he walks, while in the summer he canoes. His name, *K'etetaalkkaanee* ("The One Who Paddled among the People and Animals"), comes from his mode of travel during the summer, although altogether he probably spends just as much time on foot as in a canoe.

An episode commonly begins as *K'etetaalkkaanee* sees some sign of life and then approaches it. In the winter, the sign is usually a trail of smoke rising from an underground house. In the summer, he sights a village or a camp as he paddles around a bend. In the winter, he commonly approaches a house and brushes off his feet before entering. In the summer, he more commonly meets people outdoors. In about half of the summer episodes he approaches the camp or village directly, while in the other half he pulls his canoe onto the shore and sneaks up to where the people are.

K'etetaalkkaanee is more sneaky, deceitful, and cruel in the summer than in the winter. Fewer than half of the winter episodes involve deceit, while all but two of the summer episodes do. This difference is probably related to *K'etetaalkkaanee's* being in much more danger in the summer stories than he is during the winter ones. His life is never really threatened during the winter, so the stories are less suspenseful.

The increased level of danger and activity in the summer stories is related to the spiritual nature of his journey. At each encounter, *K'etetaal-*

Winter and Summer Stories

kkaanee gains medicine or spiritual power. The more difficult and dangerous the encounter, the more power he gains. His two brothers before him did not have enough power to overcome certain obstacles; one was killed and the other enslaved. In the end, K'etetaalkkaanee, too, is outmatched.

In the winter episodes, K'etetaalkkaanee commonly encounters animal or bird people. He spends the night with the people only to wake up in the morning to find that the people have been transformed into some kind of animal, leaving behind only their excrement. In the summer episodes, on the other hand, he generally meets humans, including two of his brothers. In addition, he has relationships—albeit short ones—with women during his summer travels. His last such encounter leads to his demise. While he desires, or is desired by, these women, and while he mourns deeply for his brothers, he is unable to take anyone with him on his journey because of its personal and powerful nature.

Below is a summary of the respective characteristics of the summer and winter stories. In these stories K'etetaalkkaanee:

Winter

travels on foot
uses snowshoes
sights smoke rising from houses
comes to underground house
brushes feet to announce
presence
meets bird and animal people
who transform into creatures
meets strangers
is not involved with women
usually spends the night with
someone
is usually safe
uncommonly encounters death
is less deceitful
is more passive
is more predictable

Summer

travels by canoe
uses canoe
sights camp or village
commonly drags canoe ashore
sneaks into camp
or village
meets human people who
rarely transform into creatures
encounters his brothers
is involved with women
usually is active, with sleep
unmentioned
is often in danger
often encounters death
is often deceitful
is more active
is less predictable

K'ETETAALKKAANEE AND THE PRESENT

K'etetaalkkaanee mentions several customs that modern Koyukon people no longer practice. One is the custom of eating only two meals a day—one in the evening and one in the morning, with the morning meal consisting of leftovers from the previous evening. Another practice no longer followed is that of putting fish into small bundles. People no longer use willow bark to bind the bundles, so the bundles can be bigger than they once were. Conical graves, called *soos*, are no longer used, and probably have not been for some time. Board snowshoes are also no longer used.

Some of the phrases and practices in *K'etetaalkkaanee* are still used by modern Koyukon people. By "modern," I mean older, traditional Koyukon people and their recent ancestors. I am not referring to young people, nor do I know to what extent young people follow traditional practices; certainly many of them do not speak *Denaakk'e*, but they may still carry on much of the tradition.

Below are four lists: (1) phrases from *K'etetaalkkaanee* that are used today, (2) comments about people who have characteristics similar to those of some characters in *K'etetaalkkaanee*, (3) modern practices associated with *K'etetaalkkaanee*, and (4) characteristics of the animal people in *K'etetaalkkaanee* that are also present in the animals into which these people transformed. I am sure that I have missed some items that should belong in each list; the lists contain only the most obvious items.

Phrases associated with *K'etetaalkkaanee*

"Dzo! Selo tok'enghee'onh."

Finally, a little chunk of something floated into my mouth. *K'etetaalkkaanee* says these words as he drinks the weak fish roe soup given to him by the camp robber family. Nowadays these words are said about canned or restaurant soup, or about the first soup a young person makes, or, humbly, about one's own soup.

K'etetaalkkaanee and the Present

"Noh K'eelék debaabe ts'ugh kk'udaa tl'ogho yuh sebaabe ehonh aahaa."

'Oh! While that boreal owl is saving her own food, she has been eating mine.'

In "Where He Spent the Spring," a mouse woman accuses a boreal owl of storing her food and eating the mouse's, when in fact the mouse herself has been eating her own food. Nowadays, if people have eaten their own food, they may jokingly blame it on the boreal owl, using this phrase.

Comments about people, derived from incidents in K'etetaalkkaanee

"Ont's'aa yuh Tseyaa, Nugh Neso."

Just like 'Grandpa, I Have Come to You'.'

This phrase is used to refer to someone who, like the man in the K'etetaalkkaanee episode, never listens. Catherine Attla applies it to young people.

"Ont's'aa k'etleedzodza k'etlaanh."

Teasing somebody just like the hawk owl does.'

People who often tease others are compared to the hawk owl who teases the marten man in K'etetaalkkaanee.

"Ont's'aa kusga."

Just like a least weasel.'

This phrase is said about somebody who is very attractive, as is the weasel woman K'etetaalkkaanee grabs for in the episode "Where He Spent the Spring."

Practices associated with K'etetaalkkaanee

Turning the skin of a black bear inside out for chickadees to pick at.

A chickadee family fed K'etetaalkkaanee with scrapings from a bear hide in "The Chickadee People" episode, so people now treat chickadees with kindness by letting them pick at the hide of a freshly killed bear.

Setting traps for martens on fallen spruce trees.

The marten man made a path on a fallen spruce tree in the episode "Marten," so people now set traps on these trees because the marten is likely to travel on them.

Calling newborns Ggoŋtl'oyooze.

This word is a contraction of the phrase that refers to the pieces of

Overview

rabbit skin that become a man's children in "The One Married to His Own Hand."

Not eating spruce pitch when fresh fish is available.

In the episode "How unlikely to be Hanging by the Neck From That," pitch is created from the mucus of a girl in puberty seclusion. Girls in puberty are subject to many taboos, including eating practices barring them from eating the same foods as those eaten by people not in seclusion. If one were to eat pitch when fresh food was available, the taboo would be violated. The girl in the story wished that the mucus would become useful, so people now use it to seal canoes (or they did until recently).

Not looking at the reflection of a medicine man.

In the episode "He Made a Grave for the Girl Who Had Been Given to Him," a girl's father dies while trying to kill K'etetaalkkaanee's reflection in the water. A medicine man's reflection is powerful and could harm anyone who looked at it.

Characteristics of animals

Camp robbers (gray jays)

In the first episode, K'etetaalkkaanee threw rocks at a camp robber who was stealing fish eggs. The grass splint the camp robber man wore on his broken leg indicates that the birds have skinny legs. In the episode "Little People," a camp robber woman bothered K'etetaalkkaanee while he was butchering a caribou by begging him for a piece of fat for her daughter. Camp robbers are thus known for trying to get food from people.

Rabbits

The rabbit-skin clothing that the rabbit boy put on represents the current coat of rabbits. The rabbit woman cried for this boy after he failed to come home. This may be associated with rabbits' ability to form tears in their eyes. The notch in a rabbit's scapula is said to come from the incident in K'etetaalkkaanee in which a hawk owl man chopped a rabbit in the back with an axe and pulled out a little piece of fat.

Chickadees

The chickadee family in the story is said to be a large family. Nowadays people say that chickadees gather in groups.

Grouse and ptarmigan

These birds spoke so fast that K'etetaalkkaanee could not understand

K'etetaalkkaanee and the Present

them. This rapid speech is reminiscent of the clucking noises that these birds make. Furthermore, the speed at which the grouse people ran around is indicative of the speed at which these birds move. These bird people gathered their food from the tops of spruce trees, still a source of food for them.

Otters

Otters like to slide around, and for this reason the otter people used board snowshoes in *K'etetaalkkaanee*. Several characteristics of the otter family are due to otters' spending much of their time in the water. Their house was located by a creek and had entrances from both the land and the water. The otter people hunted fish in the water and preferred burning wet wood in their fire. The snorting noises that kept *K'etetaalkkaanee* awake are also characteristic of otters.

Great horned owls

Because *K'etetaalkkaanee* cut a mouth for the horned owl man with a knife, these owls now speak like someone talking with his lips pressed together tightly. In the episode "Where He Spent the Spring," *K'etetaalkkaanee* rejected a great horned owl woman for blinking too much. This woman was also described as being big and awkward.

Martens

In "Marten," a mentally unbalanced marten man made a path to his "toilet" out of downed spruce trees. Martens are thus now said to run on downed spruce trees.

Wolverines

The wolverine man had several wives in *K'etetaalkkaanee*, indicating the spiritual power that traditional Koyukon people believe he has. Wolverines are also said to be easily offended; the wolverine man in the story was offended when *K'etetaalkkaanee* called him *net'tseet* 'wolverine,' rather than, for example, *doyonh* 'chief.'

Hawk owls

The relatively small size of hawk owls may explain why the hawk owl man was dragged around by a rabbit.

Boreal owls

Boreal owls have poor eyesight in the daylight and are also said to be slow moving and dull (Nelson 1985:109). These traits are seen in the boreal owl woman in "Where He Spent the Spring."

Overview

Foxes

Foxes are considered beautiful, like the fox woman in "Where He Spent the Spring." Foxes also smell bad in the heat; the fox woman that K'etetaalkkaanee tried to take in his canoe got hot and began to stink.

Ravens

Much can be said about ravens, but here I will mention only that the raven's eating habits in K'etetaalkkaanee are typical of ravens' behavior. They like carrion and will peck at the eyes of something dead before they eat it.

ASIDES AND COMMENTARY MADE DURING THE TELLING OF THE STORY

Storytellers are not allowed to make changes or additions when telling *Kk'edonts'ednee*. They are, however, allowed to comment, and people will sometimes discuss the events in a story. A storyteller also often makes adjustments for a particular audience. For example, parts of a story considered inappropriate for children might be left out when the story is told to them. Catherine Attla has said that her grandfather never told her the ending of *K'etetaalkkaanee*. Out of curiosity, she finally asked her grandmother. Her grandmother told her the end of the story once, and Attla remembered it from that one telling.

Attla gives some explanations as she tells stories. Such explanations are allowed within the tradition. Stories are geared as much as possible to a particular audience without actually changing the stories. It is common for a storyteller to make asides concerning his or her own reaction to events. Often such asides point out inappropriate behavior on the part of a character in the story. Below are some of the asides that Attla made while telling *K'etetaalkkaanee*.

"Why didn't he just keep quiet? He had to be fussy even though he did not carry his own food."

This comment was made when *K'etetaalkkaanee* remarked on the weakness of the soup that the camp robber family gave him.

"How presumptuous of her. What if he had not caught anything?"

In the hawk owl episode, this comment was made about the woman who told her children to take some dishes for food and run over to where their father had been hunting. It is considered wrong to be optimistic about one's hunting luck.

"Just who did he think hung it up there for him?"

These words were said after a man found *K'etetaalkkaanee* hanging on his weir pretending to be dead. If the man had been smarter, he would

Overview

have figured it out, but instead he thought K'etetaalkkaanee was dead. It is also possible that K'etetaalkkaanee had affected the man's thinking by using medicine power.

"It serves him right that he was afraid."

This comment was made in the episode "When He Shot an Arrow into Mink's Leg." K'etetaalkkaanee realized that the medicine man in the mink's village was more powerful than he was, so he was afraid. Until then, he had been rather smug about his own power. Humility is an important virtue.

"What did she think he was doing? She probably was not very smart."

This comment was made in the episode where K'etetaalkkaanee asked his new wife to sit in a grave he was making for her. He wanted to make sure it was the proper size. Later, when the girl's father was trying to kill K'etetaalkkaanee's reflection in the water, Attla asks, "Didn't he look up?"

"Was her child starving or what?"

This comment was made in the "Little People" episode when a camp robber woman was begging for a piece of fat for her daughter while K'etetaalkkaanee butchered a caribou.

"I don't know how they expected to do that when they could not even kill a caribou."

This comment was made when the little people decided to kill K'etetaalkkaanee.

"This was after he had drowned so many of them."

This comment was made when K'etetaalkkaanee cooked an owl's head over the fire and called the little people to come and eat. They came, even though he had already killed many of them, perhaps indicating that they were naive.

OTHER KOYUKON VERSIONS OF K'ETETAALKKAANEE

Prior to the 1990 publication of Catherine Attla's version of the story, only one episode of *K'etetaalkkaanee* had been printed. In 1975, Jones and Solomon included in the booklet *K'edonts'ednee* the episode in which *K'etetaalkkaanee* shot an arrow into Mink's leg. Not even Jules Jetté, the Jesuit priest and folklorist, published stories about *K'etetaalkkaanee*.

Several versions of the cycle, or parts of the cycle, have been tape-recorded in *Denaakk'e*, however. Summaries of two such versions, one told by Chief Henry and the other by Big Sophie Sam, are given below. In parentheses, following the summary of each episode below, is the name of the corresponding episode in Attla's 1990 published version. Both versions below are very similar to Attla's. Where there are significant differences, I have indicated them with italic type. Catherine Attla's version has many more explanations and expansions for the audience than either of the versions outlined below. Neither Chief Henry nor Big Sophie Sam mentions, for example, that *K'etetaalkkaanee* was becoming a medicine person, saying only that he slept a lot. Chief Henry and Big Sophie Sam probably had a Koyukon audience in mind, but Catherine Attla told the story knowing it would be translated and made available to a wider audience.

Chief Henry

The late Chief Henry of Huslia recorded a version of *K'etetaalkkaanee* in 1973. It has not been translated, although Eliza Jones has transcribed it.

1. *K'etetaalkkaanee* (Betohoh) *makes some snowshoes* and leaves home after his two brothers have left before him. ("Fish Camp")
2. He comes to a chickadee family. *The chickadee woman goes outside and brings in some fish eggs and boils them.* *K'etetaalkkaanee* eats and spends the night. ("Chickadee People" and "Camp Robber")

Overview

3. He comes to a camp robber family, the father of which had been hit by a rock that K'etetaalkkaanee had thrown the previous summer. K'etetaalkkaanee heals the man and is fed some soup with only one fish egg in it. He says, "Finally, one piece floated into my mouth." ("Camp Robber")
4. He comes to some ptarmigan children. The mother is gone. She brings in some dried fish and gives it to him. When he wakes up the next day, everything is quiet and no one is around; only ptarmigan excrement is left. The people have all become ptarmigan. He leaves. ("Willow Grouse, Spruce Grouse, and Ptarmigan")
5. He sets a snare, then comes to a house. The mother is singing, "This morning my child went hunting for willows. Be coming home; be coming home." K'etetaalkkaanee complains and hears something hopping out of the house. The next morning he checks his snare. ("Rabbit")
6. He comes to a great gray owl man who brings two big blackfish into his house and cooks them, telling K'etetaalkkaanee to eat everything. K'etetaalkkaanee hides some of the food, but the owl man discovers it after trying to fish through the ice. K'etetaalkkaanee spends the night and wakes to find that *his friend has turned into a great gray owl*. ("The One Who Spears through the Ice")
7. He comes to an underground house and enters. Someone lowers some rabbits through the smoke hole. K'etetaalkkaanee eats the rabbits while the person on the roof sings, "Who came in my absence?" K'etetaalkkaanee asks him why he doesn't enter his house, and then he hears something sliding off the roof. The man has turned into a shovel. ("Shovel Man")
8. He comes to an old man trying to hook fish. The man does not respond to K'etetaalkkaanee. K'etetaalkkaanee says, "Grandpa, I have come to you," and has diarrhea in the water. ("Grandpa, I Have Come to You")
9. He comes to a man whose house is filled with rabbit skins. The man brings in some blackfish and feeds them to the rabbit skins, whom he calls "children." K'etetaalkkaanee hears him say that something is being born, and sees the man pulling a rabbit skin from between his fingers. K'etetaalkkaanee leaves the next morning without eating breakfast. ("The One Married to His Own Hand")

Other Koyukon Versions of K'etetaalkkaanee

10. He comes to a family of boreal owl people. The father has gotten his axe stuck in a rabbit's shoulder and is being dragged into the woods by the rabbit. The children drink their father's blood by mistake and become ill. Their father heals them with an amulet. K'etetaalkkaanee spends the night and leaves the next morning. ("Hawk Owl")
11. He comes to some otter children in an underground house and makes a hot fire for them. They get cold and their parents come home and put wet wood on the fire. ("Otter")
12. He finds a wolverine's tooth in a beaver lodge and later repairs it for the wolverine. ("Wolverine")
13. He hides from a marten who is following his trail. K'etetaalkkaanee makes a dummy out of his parka and fools the marten with it. K'etetaalkkaanee turns into a hawk and mocks the marten, who jumps back and forth over the fire and kills himself. ("Marten")
14. He sees some tracks left by a man who is wearing snowshoes that are bent up on both ends. The man comes up behind K'etetaalkkaanee and asks him why he is laughing at his tracks. K'etetaalkkaanee says that he is hungry, and the man tells K'etetaalkkaanee to go to a place where the man had diarrhea. K'etetaalkkaanee does so and finds a bear in its den. ("The One with Snowshoes Bent Up on Both Ends")
15. K'etetaalkkaanee uses a spruce grouse breastbone as a model for canoe endpieces. He tests various barks and decides to use birch. While he pretends to sleep, some women come to sew the bark onto the canoe. The raven woman makes coarse stitches on a hidden area. K'etetaalkkaanee grabs a fox woman, whom he finds very attractive. She runs to a house filled with small animals and birds. He goes to the house, and the animal women come out one at a time to offer themselves to him. After he is let into the house, the animals bring in food. The mouse accuses the boreal owl of eating her food. K'etetaalkkaanee leaves with the *mink* woman, but later leaves her behind. ("Where He Spent the Spring")
16. He encounters a woman tanning a human hide. She takes it down when she sees him. K'etetaalkkaanee is approached by his brother's skull, which advises him to put a rock on his chest at night. The woman wants to "marry" K'etetaalkkaanee, so she lashes his canoe to the smokehouse. At night she tries to sit on him and kill him. The next

Overview

morning, he asks her to get him some water and he escapes. She follows behind him in the water. He stops to spend the night and wakes up to find her and some wet beaver skins. *He kills her and chops her up from her head down to her tail. She comes to life again and pursues him again. He then kills her and chops her up from her feet to her tail. The tail bounces away, squeaking, and he knows he has killed her permanently.* ("Where His Older Brother's Skull Came Ashore to Him") (See also "The One Who Drank Water with Dog Droppings in It" in Attla 1989 for the motif of cutting up a tailed creature.)

17. He comes to a village and goes into a house. A baby in the house makes a mess and the people call K'etetaalkkaanee's other older brother to wipe up the mess with his tattered marten-skin parka. K'etetaalkkaanee kills the people. (When He Came to His Enslaved Older Brother")
18. He hangs himself up on a fish weir and pretends to be dead. He is carried home by the father of a family. K'etetaalkkaanee kills the entire family with a hammer, sparing only a girl in puberty seclusion. The girl cries and wipes her nose on a spruce tree, making pitch. ("How Unlikely to be Hanging by the Neck From That")
19. K'etetaalkkaanee turns into a pike and steals a fishhook from a man who is fishing. He turns back into a man and is asked by the man whose hook he stole to marry the man's daughter. K'etetaalkkaanee marries her, but kills her later. The man pursues him and drowns himself, diving after K'etetaalkkaanee's reflection in the water. ("Fishhook" and "He Made a Grave for the Girl Who Had Been Given to Him")
20. He comes to a cache, throws some mittens to some dogs that are guarding it, and gets some dried fish. He shoots a mink girl in the leg and she runs off, screaming. He then goes to a village of little people, who ask him to help them kill a caribou, which they call *neełts'aakkaaghelggež* "the one with a forked foot." He paddles after the caribou, along with the little people, who are in leaf canoes. *K'etetaalkkaanee lifts them with his paddle and puts them in his boat to protect them from the waves that he makes.* A camp robber woman begs K'etetaalkkaanee for a piece of fat for her daughter, and

Other Koyukon Versions of K'etetaalkkaanee

K'etetaalkkaanee throws a piece on top of her. *The other people stand around the edge of the fat and lift it up, finding that the woman has been flattened.* They try to kill K'etetaalkkaanee by shooting quills at him. He pretends to die, and they gather grass and burn it on top of him. After a while, he gets up and kills an owl. *He takes out the owl's eyes and drops one of the eyes down the smoke hole of a big house. On his way to another house, he hears the eye burst. He drops the second eye down into another house and it also bursts.* The little people are all killed. ("Little People")

21. He lies on a beach, and a seagull tells a raven that there is some dead meat. The raven asks the seagull whether it stinks, and the seagull says that it does. The raven tries to peck out K'etetaalkkaanee's eye, but K'etetaalkkaanee grabs its beak. Raven asks him to give it back and then flies downstream. K'etetaalkkaanee paddles downstream and comes to cliffs that are opening and closing across the river. He turns into a *netsoo tlaaghedekkon* and slips between the rocks. K'etetaalkkaanee asks the raven to cause some caribou to cross the river in front of him. The raven asks K'etetaalkkaanee not to shoot the leader, but K'etetaalkkaanee does anyway, and the raven flies off. ("Raven")
22. He comes to an old giant woman. At her hand, he meets his demise. ("Giant Woman")

Big Sophie Sam

In 1973, Big Sophie Sam of Huslia told a version of this story that was recorded by Poldine Carlo for the Alaska Library Association. Big Sophie Sam told the entire story in *Denaakk'e*, and it has not been translated, although Eliza Jones has transcribed it. Big Sophie told the story without mentioning K'etetaalkkaanee's name until she was specifically asked by Poldine Carlo. In answering Carlo's question, she called him K'etetaalkkaanee. During the first episode, however, she does call him "*Yo Baagh Noleyoyee*" "The One Who Walked Around the Edge of the Horizon." A cognate of this name is used on the Tanana River and in Canada's Mackenzie Delta. Not all of the story was recorded. A summary of the events found in Big Sophie Sam's recorded version of the story is given below:

1. A mother's children have all left home, except one, who sleeps all the

Overview

time. He finally gets up and *begins to make snowshoes*. She asks him what he is doing, and he replies only that he is going out walking. She begs him to stay, but he puts on his snowshoes and leaves anyway, having also *made a bow and arrow*. His mother cries and sings the tips of her hair in mourning. ("Fish Camp")

2. He walks and walks, finally coming to a house where bird people are living. A chickadee person gives him some soup made from only a few salmon eggs. K'etetaalkkaanee drinks it and says, "Finally, one piece floated into my mouth." He leaves after drinking the soup. ("Camp Robber")
3. He comes to a camp robber family and is fed soup with only a little dry fish in it. As he drinks it, he says, "Finally, one piece floated into my mouth." He spends the night and leaves. ("Camp Robber")
4. He comes to an otter family's underground house. The parents are out fishing, and the children are warming themselves by a fire made of wet wood. K'etetaalkkaanee gets some dry wood and rekindles the fire so that it begins to blaze. The children start to shiver. The parents return and put wet wood on the fire again. K'etetaalkkaanee spends the night, wakes up alone the next morning, and leaves. ("Otter")
5. He comes to a boreal owl family. The father is out hunting, and the mother and children are home alone. The father swings his little axe into a rabbit, gets it stuck, and is dragged around by the rabbit. The father returns home with a little piece of fat from the the rabbit's shoulder. K'etetaalkkaanee steps on the little piece of fat, and the family looks around for it until they find it on the bottom of his foot. They feed him and he spends the night. The following morning, they are all gone and he leaves. ("Hawk Owl")
6. He comes to a dog trail and enters a dog family's underground house. Many puppies are running around the house. They feed him dried fish, and he spends the night. He wakes to find everybody gone, and he leaves. (See "The Ones Who Killed the Cannibal," Attla 1983.)
7. He comes to a man whose snowshoes are bent up on both ends. K'etetaalkkaanee is confused by the man's tracks, and the man accuses K'etetaalkkaanee of laughing at him. The man tells K'etetaalkkaanee to go to a place where he had diarrhea. The man apparently killed some caribou. ("The One with Snowshoes Bent Up on Both Ends")

Other Koyukon Versions of K'etetaalkkaanee

8. K'etetaalkkaanee finds part of a wolverine's tooth in a beaver lodge. He comes to the wolverine family and breaks the tooth while pretending to fix it. Then he actually does repair it. ("Wolverine")
9. K'etetaalkkaanee pretends to be dead in a fish weir, and the owner, a wolverine, comes and says "How unlikely to be hanging by the neck from that." The wolverine man carries K'etetaalkkaanee home. The children are delighted, thinking that their father has brought them some meat. K'etetaalkkaanee kills the entire family, sparing only a girl who is in puberty seclusion. The girl cries and her mucus becomes spruce pitch. ("How Unlikely to be Hanging by the Neck From That")
10. K'etetaalkkaanee camps for the spring. He decides to make a canoe and tests several different kinds of bark. He decides to use birch. During the night, some women come to sew the bark. The raven woman sews sloppily in a part that will be unseen. K'etetaalkkaanee is attracted to the fox woman and grabs her, after willing her to lose her awl. She screams and he lets her go. Finally, she begins to travel with him in his canoe. However, she begins to smell bad, and he lets her out on shore. ("Where He Spent the Spring")
11. He comes to a willow grouse girl in puberty seclusion. He spears her and she is drained of blood. (See "Willow Grouse" in Attla 1983.)
12. He hears some people making noise and sees a cache on the bank. He goes to the cache, which has two large dogs guarding it. He throws them each a mitten and gets dried fish out of the cache. The people in the village downstream send a mink woman to see why the dogs are barking. K'etetaalkkaanee shoots her in the leg, and she runs back to the village, crying. When K'etetaalkkaanee goes to the village, she recognizes him. The people ask his help in killing a caribou, which they call "nots'etneegeey" "one that is rarely seen." He kills the caribou, and while he is cleaning it, a camp robber woman nags him for a piece of fat to give to her daughter. He throws a piece fat over her and kills her. The people in the village try to kill him. He pretends to be dead, and the little people burn grass on him. He kills an owl and brings it into the village. The little people gather around K'etetaalkkaanee as he cooks the owl's head, and the eyes pop out and kill the little people. ("Mink" and "Little People")
13. He comes to a village where his older brother is enslaved, made to do

Overview

such chores as wiping up a baby's mess with pieces of his parka. K'etetaalkkaanee kills everyone in the village. ("When He Came to His Enslaved Older Brother")

14. A seagull sees K'etetaalkkaanee pretending to be dead and tells a raven about it. The raven attempts to peck K'etetaalkkaanee's eye, and K'etetaalkkaanee grabs its beak. K'etetaalkkaanee asks the raven to lead some caribou to him. ("Raven")
(The recording ends at this point.)

Chapter 3
Characters Found
in *Kk'edonts'ednee*

CHARACTERS FOUND IN KK'EDONTS'EDNEE

In the following discussion, I postulate a number of archetypes that repeatedly appear in Koyukon *Kk'edonts'ednee*. Some of them may be universal; others are common in other North American traditions. Discussing archetypes, even those specific to a particular tradition, is a dangerous undertaking because such a discussion ignores individual variation. Such variation exists in Koyukon stories, not only from story to story, but also from storyteller to storyteller, and from one telling of a story to another. The danger is that stories will become trivialized or the richness of the stories will be distorted. On the other hand, such a discussion can give depth to characters who otherwise might seem enigmatic to those not familiar with the tradition.

Many previous discussions of characters in North American mythology have identified a limited number of character archetypes, commonly the trickster, the hero, and the transformer. Readers may be disappointed when the actual characters do not live up to their labels, feeling, for example, that a hero is not heroic enough or a trickster is too heroic and not tricky enough.

If the definition of "hero" is made broad enough, all protagonists in Koyukon stories are heroes, but such a definition would do little justice to these characters. "Trickster" characteristics are also present—even pervasive—in Koyukon stories, but it is because of their pervasiveness that I do not list the trickster as a Koyukon character. Many characters have trickster-like traits, but it would be misleading to call them tricksters. Raven is the character most people would identify as the trickster in Koyukon folklore. I prefer to identify him simply as Raven because he is not the same trickster, nor even the same raven, as the one found in other traditions.

I have not included "the transformer" as one of my characters. The transformer is usually thought of as someone who, in the mythical past,

Characters Found in Kk'edonts'ednee

transformed things into their present forms. This contrasts with "the creator," who made things from nothingness. Many transformations do occur in *Kk'edonts'ednee*, usually as the result of the actions of some character, often Raven. But I have not included the transformer because transformations are usually a by-product of some incidental action; with few exceptions, they are not performed as ends in themselves. (For an example of deliberate transformation, see the story of how Raven shaped the world in Attla 1983:127-38.)

With the exception of Raven, none of the characters below refer to a single character, recurring in different stories. They instead refer to characteristics that the characters in different stories share. Do not assume that every character found in all of the *Kk'edonts'ednee* belongs to only one of the character archetypes presented here. Many characters have elements of several character types, and some defy classification.

The Raven

Characteristics associated with Raven in *Kk'edonts'ednee* are also associated with ravens today. Raven provokes both awe and ridicule. Nelson (1983:148) refers to him as "God in clown's suit." I think it is fair to say that most non-Koyukon people tend to recognize the clownish, tricksterish part of Raven's personality, while traditional Koyukon people tend to see both sides as a unified whole. On the clownish side, we see a selfish character with a voracious appetite and little self-respect. On the divine side, we see a creator who did much to shape the world into its present form, and a savior who had compassion for people when they were in danger, helping them, for example, by eliminating some monster or stealing back the sun and moon. The two sides go together; each is incomplete without the other. He helps people only after they give him huge offerings of food, and in his many selfish escapades, he forms much of the world as we know it.

Raven is vain in the sense that he wants pity, but not in the sense of being mindful of his appearance. His current color, plain black, is considered indicative of his lack of interest in clothing. Often in *Kk'edonts'ednee*, when people want him to rescue them from something, they bring him clothing as an offering, which he refuses, asking for food instead. In fact, Raven can indulge in self-mutilation, as he does in the story about his

Characters Found in Kk'edonts'ednee

killing a whale (Attla 1989), in which he cuts off his own toe in order to get the whale to cut off his. His desire for pity is apparent when, before being killed in one story, he wishes that after his death the girls will mourn him enough to fight over his feathers. In another story, he pretends to be dying and asks his nephews to make mourning songs for him.

Raven is powerful and deceptive, and this combination makes him a formidable opponent. Sometimes people are suspicious of him, but he is able to trick them into believing his farfetched stories. In the story about his killing a water monster (Attla 1989), he acts kindly toward the monster, pretending to be his special friend and a fellow cannibal. In the story of his killing the three bears (Attla 1989), he claims to be the uncle of the bears' baby.

Sometimes, however, people are not deceived by his tricks. When this happens, people often will not stop him because they are afraid of his power. Even when people see through his sham, he will continue it to get whatever he wants. The story about his putting his nephew, Mink, in a fishtail to hunt bear (Attla 1983:41-64), is an example of a ruse so blatant that no one—least of all Mink—is fooled. But he remains unchallenged because of the strength of his medicine power.

In some stories, including *K'etetaalkkaanee*, Raven is outsmarted or killed by someone more powerful than he. For example, in the story about his abducting a young girl (Attla 1989), a powerful medicine man causes him to drop into a pit. In the story of his putting a boy into a log (Attla 1983:139-170), he is killed by a boy who returns from a medicine journey (see the description of this type of character below).

When Raven appears in a story, he is usually the main character. Sometimes, however, his appearance is incidental. His run-in with *K'etetaalkkaanee* is only a small part of a much larger story. In "She's Dragging Her Bag" (Attla 1983:171-212; Jones and Pilot 1975), he appears briefly as the greedy hunting partner of a wolf. In "*K'itlinbaalots'ik*" (Attla 1989), he appears as an unwanted suitor of the main character.

In *Kk'edonts'ednee*, Raven is Mink's uncle. Mink is presented as being hard-working, decent, honest, and principled; in short, he is the opposite of Raven. Mink also commonly sees through Raven's attempted deceptions, and usually becomes angered. However, Raven is the more powerful of the two, so Mink usually does not openly challenge him. In two stories, however, Mink kills Raven.

TRAVELERS

The Medicine Traveler

The stories about a medicine traveler usually begin with the information that the protagonist sleeps more than is considered normal. This information is all that traditional Koyukon people need to infer the basic structure of the story. He leaves home, often against the objections of his mother, and sets off on a journey. During this journey, he meets various dangers, which he must overcome. As he overcomes each danger, his power increases, and the story ends as he either returns home a powerful medicine man, or meets an obstacle he cannot overcome. Usually he meets a donor (see below) who helps him. In *K'etetaalkkaanee*, the donor is the one whose snowshoes are bent up on both ends; in the story "The One Who Secured His Axe to the Sky" (Attla 1989), the main donor is Ggaadooggaa's grandmother in the sky.

Other examples of the medicine traveler are found in "The One Who Drank Water with Dog Droppings in It" (Attla 1989), and in "The One Whose Uncle Put Him in the Water in a Log" (Attla 1983:139-170). Because of the personal nature of a medicine journey, the traveler cannot travel with anyone else. *K'etetaalkkaanee* tries to take his beautiful fox wife along with him, but cannot because of her smell. The traveler who drank water with dog droppings in it allows his wife to follow him, but she is killed soon after they are reunited.

Often, the traveler will see evidence, usually in the form of bones or skulls, of others who did not complete the journey. In some cases, the traveler will meet some other medicine traveler who arrived at an impasse. Usually this person is a relative of the traveler. *K'etetaalkkaanee* meets two of his brothers, one whose skull speaks to him, and one who has been enslaved by the people of a village. Ggaadooggaa meets his uncles who could not get past the cannibal man and his daughter. Ggaadooggaa's

Characters Found in Kk'edonts'ednee

donor grandmother, in fact, was unable to overcome the antagonists over whom Ggaadooggaa eventually triumphs. A person traveling on a medicine journey can ultimately either return to his home or meet his demise. This demise can be death, enslavement, impoverishment, or transformation, and once a medicine traveler meets his downfall, he can neither turn back nor progress. It is a true impasse. K'etetaalkkaanee tries to take his brother along with him after rescuing him, but he cannot. His canoe freezes in the water because his brother simply cannot go beyond the point of his impasse.

Most Koyukon stories involve medicine power of one type or another. Raven always uses his medicine power in his schemes, and the avengers in war stories often use such power. The medicine *traveler*, however, is specific to a particular type of story. These stories are about the acquisition of medicine power in addition to the use of it. The significance of excessive sleep is that the sleepers are dreaming of their future journey. When they have dreamt of the entire journey, they set out on it with some foreknowledge of what will happen along the way. Although none of the *Kk'edonts'ednee* are about women who gain medicine power, in traditional Koyukon culture, both men and women could have power. In recent times, people gaining medicine power would sleep more than normal, and they would dream vividly. They usually would not, however, set off on an actual journey.

Stories about medicine travelers are sometimes difficult to identify. Sometimes the traveler's intent is not mentioned at all. In Jones and Pilot's version of "The One Who Secured His Axe to the Sky," (Gaadook, 1975) this purpose is never mentioned. This omission is partly explained by the understanding, of anyone raised in the Koyukon tradition, that someone who sleeps a lot is about to go on a medicine journey. The omission is also partly due to the Koyukon custom of mentioning important things only indirectly. The difficulty of identifying medicine travelers is compounded because the travelers often leave home ostensibly for other reasons, albeit sometimes strange ones. Ggaadooggaa leaves home while chasing a woodpecker with an axe (Attla 1989). The One Who Drank Water With Dog Droppings In It leaves home after his wife gives him dirty water (Attla 1989). The One Whose Uncle Put Him In the Water in a Log is literally tied up in a hollowed-out log and dropped into the river by Raven (Attla

Travelers

1983). We could assume that K'etetaalkkaanee leaves home to search for his missing brothers. On a deeper level, though, all the travelers in these stories leave home for the same reason—to become medicine people.

I have seen no evidence that the archetype of the medicine traveler is present in neighboring Athabaskan traditions. This apparent lack may be due to my inability to recognize indirect evidence—that is, perhaps the stories have medicine travelers, but because the characters are not explicitly identified as such, I am unaware of them.

The Woman Traveler

While male travelers in *Kk'edonts'ednee* are usually on a medicine journey, female travelers are usually running away from something. Stories with female travelers, as well as those with male travelers, begin with the protagonist's being separated from family, but the woman traveler is driven away by some disastrous event. The woman traveler has a variety of experiences on her journey—most of them bad—but she does not gain power from them. The best she can hope for is to return home and have things restored to the way they were before the disaster, while the worst she can expect is death. Other types of exclusively female characters discussed below include "the abducted" and "the old woman."

Examples of the woman traveler can be found in "The Ones Who Killed a Cannibal," and in the story "She's Dragging Her Bag" (both in Attla 1983). The latter was also published under the title *Donooghno-tok'idaatno* in Jones and Pilot 1975. A story with elements of both of these stories can be found in Jetté 1908:320-337 under the title of "The Man-Eagle." Henry 1973 includes a story that is remarkably similar to "The One Who Secured His Axe to the Sky" (Attla 1989), entitled "The Two Sisters." Although the plots are similar, "The Two Sisters" is about women, and therefore is not a story about medicine journeyers. The women have some unpleasant experiences, and only the younger sister returns to her home.

Sometimes the disaster that forces a woman to leave is caused by the breaking of a taboo. The punishment she receives for this might be viewed as disproportionate to her crime. In "She's Dragging Her Bag" (Attla 1983), she appears at a potlatch and speaks, even though she is in puberty seclusion. As a result, her baby sister turns into a cannibal and

Characters Found in Kk'edonts'ednee

kills everyone in the village. She is able to kill her murderous sister, but must set out on a journey that eventually sees her married, then kidnapped and murdered. In the story about the ones who killed a cannibal (Attla 1983), a couple's baby is killed by a cannibal. The parents, in turn, kill the cannibal, but are cursed because of it. The husband becomes unfaithful to his wife and she embarks on her journey.

This character is present in other Athabaskan traditions and appears in neighboring Eskimo traditions as well. One Yupik Eskimo story from Bethel, called "Adventures of a Young Girl," is about a girl who gets lost and travels on a journey of many perils (Tennant and Bitar 1981:164-177). The story ends with the information that "All this happened because the young girl who had been lost and returned had refused a man who had wanted to marry her when she was single" (p. 177).

The Orphan Who Makes Good

Stories about an orphan who makes good reflect the Koyukon belief that the greatest strength can come from the humblest and least assuming individuals. Orphans in these stories are often the victims of ridicule and mistreatment, but because of their hard work and long suffering, they triumph in the end. Not only do the others become aware of the orphan's true strength, but they come to depend on the orphan for help. Two examples of such stories are "Keeysoolenh" (Attla 1983:7-30), in which the orphan is a boy, and "Teetinhoy: The Orphan Girl" (Jones and Solomon 1975), in which the orphan is a girl who is left behind during a time of famine. When the orphan is a boy, he usually lives with his grandmother at the beginning of the story. A more complex version of this character is found in the story "The One Who Kicked His Grandmother's Head Along" (Attla 1983:107-126). Orphans who appear as incidental characters do not serve the same function. (See "the spared orphan" below.)

The orphan who makes good is common among neighboring Athabaskan traditions. In one Holikachuk story told by Bertha Rock (1985), an orphan boy who lives with his grandmother dislikes all the other boys and girls, except one orphan girl, whom he eventually marries. He drives off all the other young people, except her, by putting rotten, smelly fish eggs under his hat.

The orphan is also a common character in Eskimo stories. One Chevak

Travelers

Eskimo story begins "The two people in this story, as in so many stories like this, are a grandmother and her orphan grandson..." (Woodbury 1984:65).

The Spared Orphan

In *Kk'edonts'ednee*, orphans are commonly used as messengers or told to make announcements, because they do what they are told. They are the least important members of the community and expect to be bossed around and given the least important position at gatherings. In one story, Raven tells an orphan to make an announcement. Catherine Attla, in telling the story, commented "There's always an orphan (in this kind of story)" (Attla 1983:61). In war stories, orphans are usually spared when one party massacres another. The orphan is then used as a go-between for sending messages and threats to the relatives of those who have been killed.

The Abducted

Women are invariably the ones to be abducted. Sometimes things turn out well for them as a result, but sometimes they perish. Usually they are taken against their will, but in a few stories they are, to a degree, willing victims who later regret their choice. In one story, "The Eagle Man Who Took People Far Away" (Attla 1989), a woman wishes to be taken, and, accordingly, is. She wishes to be nestled into the feathers of a flying eagle, and much to her surprise and disappointment, the eagle comes and carries her away. Women travelers are often the victims of abduction on their journeys. Sometimes abducted women escape—more often than not by being rescued by some other, more desirable man. (See, for example, the story in Attla 1989 of "Raven Who Abducted a Young Girl.") In other stories, they are taken away and killed. The woman traveler in "She's Dragging Her Bag" (Attla 1983) met such a death, as did an old woman who was taken away by a fox man and left to freeze (Lolnitz 1973:1-8). Kidnap victims who consent to be taken are always murdered. That is the case with the old woman just mentioned, as well as with a girl who falls in love with a fish man (Lolnitz 1973:23-39).

The abducted character is common in neighboring Athabaskan traditions. A variant of this archetype is found in Ingalik stories in which a

Characters Found in Kk'edonts'ednee

woman or women living alone, and living fairly well, is visited by Raven, who intends to stay indefinitely and take advantage of the situation. In one Ingalik story, an old woman kills a bear and is soon visited by Raven, who, as always, has a voracious appetite. In another Ingalik story, two girls living alone are joined by Raven, who intends to become their husband. In both of these stories, the women make it clear to Raven that they want him to leave, but he is oblivious to their demands. Both stories can be found in Deacon (n.d.).

The Abductor

The men who abduct women in *Kk'edonts'ednee* usually do so to acquire a wife, and are, with the exception of the spirit man in *K'it'Inbaalots'ik* (Attla 1989), undesirable husbands. For example, in one story, a woman is abducted by a seagull man who, in addition to being a poor provider, repeatedly swallows her and vomits her up again (Attla 1983:225ff.). In one story, Raven abducts a young girl, who is eventually rescued. Usually, though, if Raven wants a wife, he needs only to ask for her and she is given to him out of fear for his power. The eagle man is prone to abducting women and is desirable in some respects. He is a good provider and is described as being so handsome that he glows, but he can be cruel and treacherous. Evidently, abductions did take place in recent times (see the story by Barabara Nikolai in *Old Channel*: 80ff.). Young girls would also be given as wives to older, sometimes undesirable medicine men. Young women usually had no say in whom they married, and marriage must have seemed, to some, like an abduction.

AVENGERS

The Male Avenger

The male avenger is found in war stories. This character avenges the death of some member or members of his family who were killed by a war party. These characters initially do not want to fight, although they sometimes later become obsessed with fighting. They are innocent and want only to live out their lives, but they eventually must fight off one war party after another. Whether the male avenger in a story is a sympathetic character or not, and whether his actions are justified or not, the mass killing he undertakes usually leads to his own death, or at least, causes him to age prematurely.

Avengers usually are either orphans or are living with only one parent. They often have medicine power and can alter the thoughts of the enemy. In one story, an avenger who is besieged by some men determined to kill him causes these men to cut trees frantically and make many arrows. While they are doing this, the avenger and his grandmother escape.

The male avenger is not found in many stories other than war stories, but other types of protagonists may seek revenge. K'etetaalkkaanee plays the avenger when he kills the entire population of a village because the people have enslaved his brother. In the context of war stories, avengers usually have a special friend in the war party who helps them. When an avenger kills an entire war party, he will often spare an orphan so that the orphan will take a message back to his people telling them that the war party has been killed. Another war party eventually follows to avenge the deaths of the first, and the second party is also destroyed.

The Female Avenger

Female avengers in *Kk'edonts'ednee* seek revenge against their husbands rather than a war party. At one time or another, the wronged wife

Characters Found in Kk'edonts'ednee

finds her husband with two young girls, and later the three adulterers meet their demise at her hands. In "The Lynx" (Attla 1983), a woman's husband goes hunting in the spring and never returns so that he can live with two other women. She is told of his deception by a bird. She then finds his camp, kills his wives, and transforms him into a lynx. Jetté (1908-09:337-346) tells of a similar story called "The Bear Skin."

One of the stories in Attla 1989 is about a woman whose husband leaves her in camp and travels to her home to kill her entire family. No reason is given for his doing this, but he returns to her afterward and acts as if nothing has happened. She becomes aware of her family's murder when she sees her little brother's crippled finger hanging from her husband's quiver. While she and her husband are paddling down the river, she sings a song to her baby, insulting her husband's body odor and telling of her love for someone else. He hears her and sinks her canoe, killing the baby. Her revenge comes when, with the help of a skull, she floods the village where he is staying, killing him and his two new wives.

The Jealous Spouse

Some *Kk'edonts'ednee* are about a husband or wife obsessed with jealousy. Attla 1989 includes two such stories. One is about a woman who pulls her husband around by the head so much that his hair sticks up. He eventually turns into a kingfisher, whose head feathers stick up. The other is about a man who becomes consumed by jealousy after finding a comb that was given to his wife, as a gift of love, by another man. He withholds food from her, barely keeping her alive, saying, "Why don't you take a bite from the comb?" Because they are traveling, she has no solace except her dog, who is able to sneak some food to her, but only for a while. Her brothers eventually find her and kill her husband, but she and her entire village are in turn killed by her husband's older brother.

The jealous spouse displays a dangerous combination of love and cruelty toward his or her victim. Jealous spouses love their unfaithful wives or husbands too much to leave them or kill them, but they are too angry to forgive them.

The Community as a Character

Sometimes a large group of people seems like it is a single entity in

Avengers

Kk'edonts'ednee. The war party, presented as an antagonist to the avenger, is an example of this, but a community can be either an enemy or friend. It can be associated with potlatches and funerals, or it can be a comfort in times of tragedy. It can also be the victim of Raven's abuses. In the story called "The Ones Who Used to Say, *Adiyee Hughlkinh*" (Attla 1983:243-56), Raven kills an entire community in order to have more food. The story also illustrates the need for the companionship of a community. Mink kills Raven as revenge for Raven's action, but because Raven cursed him, he paddles down the river looking in vain for people. As he approaches a bend in the river, he hears voices, but he sees nothing after coming around the bend. Lonely, he brings Raven back to life.

The Girl or Boy Coming of Age

When girls reached puberty in traditional Koyukon culture, they were considered to be at a powerful and potentially dangerous time of their lives. They could, for example, ruin hunting tools by stepping over them. Because of the power associated with puberty, girls at this stage of life were secluded, usually in a small camp of their own. They were secluded for two reasons: to protect others from their power, and to train them to be proper women. In *Kk'edonts'ednee*, they are significant because of the power associated with them, because of their new eligibility for marriage, and because of their isolation. The isolation is significant in one episode of *K'etetaalkkaanee* in which a sequestered girl's family is killed by *K'etetaalkkaanee*. Not knowing why her mother has ceased visiting her, the girl cries until her head merges with a tree as a burl, and her mucus becomes spruce pitch. Sometimes a girl in seclusion is the victim of a kidnapping.

Boys were not secluded in traditional Koyukon culture, but there are some stories of boys who are just coming into adulthood. "The One Who Kicked His Grandmother's Head Along" (Attla 1983:107-126) is such a story. Stories about boys coming of age usually involve these boys' finding suitable mates.

One Who Will Not Marry

Koyukon people used to consider remarkable someone who would not marry, and a girl was expected to marry whomever her mother asked her

Characters Found in Kk'edonts'ednee

to marry. In Kk'edonts'ednee, unmarried young people of age are relatively common. The Denaakk'e (Koyukon language) word for such a person is, on the Yukon River, *k'ek'edeyeneelenenh* 'one whose thoughts are averse,' and on the Koyukuk River, *ts'ok'odeelt'e haanh*, a word difficult to translate, but one that means something close to the English phrase, 'one who will not marry.' Sometimes they are boys and sometimes they are girls. Girl *k'ek'edeyeneelenenh*s are often daughters of chiefs. They are unmarried not because they are opposed to marriage, but because they are waiting for someone perfect. They are viewed by others as fussy people. Usually this type of character finds the right mate in the end—someone who is industrious and of good character. Madeline Solomon told a story called "*Keel K'ek'edeyeneelenenh*," in which a boy refuses to marry any of the many girls who come to visit him. In the end, he marries a girl who has filled his snowshoes perfectly with the twisted sinew of a mouse's tail (Jones and Solomon 1975). The girl was living with her grandmother and was probably an orphan. In "The One Who Kicked His Grandmother's Head Along," the boy finally encounters an unmarried girl and marries her (Attla 1983).

The Grieving Parents

When a character leaves home for a long time and then returns, he or she usually finds his or her parents impoverished and grieving, believing that their child has died. Sometimes a character will return to his or her mother alone, as is the case in "The One Who Secured His Axe to the Sky" (Attla 1989) and "The One Whose Uncle Put Him in the Water in a Log" (Attla 1983), and "*K'it'inbaalots'ik*" (Attla 1989). When a character returns to a mother alone, the mother is crying from grief. In cases where a character returns to both parents, the parents are grieving deeply and have singed the tips of their hair in mourning for their lost child.

The Innocent Victim

The character I have called the "innocent victim" is an incidental character who meets his or her demise through the actions of the protagonist. K'etetaalkkaanee had several such victims—a man and his daughter, whom he kills for no apparent reason, a mentally unstable marten man, whom he mocks, and an entire village of little people. A woman traveler

Avengers

in "She's Dragging Her Bag" (Attla 1983) lets another woman, one who could have become her friend, hang herself. Raven has many victims, innocent and not, most of whom he eats. Non-Athabaskans are sometimes disturbed by the arbitrary deaths of these characters. For example, many non-Athabaskans who have read the story of how Raven killed the whale (Attla 1989) have said they are appalled at Raven's actions against the poor, innocent whale.

The Cannibal

Many people in *Kk'edonts'ednee* face the danger of cannibals. For example, *K'etetaalkkaanee* is warned about a cannibal woman by his brother's skull. The remnants of previous victims—bones, skin, flesh, and so on—are usually the evidence that indicates that someone is a cannibal. In "Great Raven Who Killed a Water Monster" (Attla 1989), Raven kills a cannibal who has some human ears in the back of his canoe. In the episode of *K'etetaalkkaanee* in which his brother warns him about the cannibal woman, *K'etetaalkkaanee* sees the woman tanning a fine skin, which turns out to be human skin, and later sees a lake full of human bones. The couple in "The Ones Who Killed a Cannibal" (Attla 1983) discover that the cannibal has killed their baby and spread it out over the fire. Often the protagonist of a story is offered human flesh by a cannibal. McCurry and Jones (1985:108) make the following comments: "Cannibals have bad feeling skin, supernatural powers, and are totally inhuman in their behavior, despite their surface resemblance to people."

The Overeager Wife

The overeager wife falls into a subclass of the cannibal. In a few stories, a male protagonist comes to a woman who wants to be his wife. This is unusual in itself, because women in traditional Koyukon culture generally did not propose marriage. In *Kk'edonts'ednee*, such a woman invariably turns out to be someone who, after marrying men, kills them. *K'etetaalkkaanee* comes to a woman—a very deadly cannibal-woman, it turns out—who almost literally falls over herself trying to become his wife. Another medicine traveler, *Ggaadooggaa*, encounters a man and his daughter who attempt to kill him at night. In both stories, the protagonist hears the murderer sharpening something with which to kill him in the

Characters Found in Kk'edonts'ednee

dark. In both stories, the attempted murder fails and the would-be killers are killed (Attla 1989).

The Chief

The chief, or *doyonh*, of a village is sometimes an incidental character in *Kk'edonts'ednee*. In one story, a girl is abducted by an eagle man who is the chief of a village. The people in the village fear him, but depend on him for their livelihood (Attla 1989). Chiefs are one of two types: one type lives with many wives and exercises strong control over the village; the other type has a daughter of marriageable age. An example of the former can be found in "The Eagle Man Who Carried People Far Away" (Attla 1986), while an example of the latter is found in Jetté's "The Second Making of Man" (1907:309-315).

The Comical Animal

There are some short, humorous *Kk'edonts'ednee* stories about inept animals. The story in this vein best known to the Koyukon people is "*To-baan Atsah*" "She's Crying On the Beach," which is about a porcupine who wants to cross a river. Stories such as this one were commonly the first to be learned by children. On the Yukon River, there are a number of short, humorous stories about mice. For examples of these stories, see Madeline Solomon's "Old Lady's Charred Teeth" (Jones and Solomon 1975), and Jetté's "The Mouse" (1909:483-7). The Ingalik people have a number of short mouse stories as well.

DONORS

A number of *Kk'edonts'ednee* stories include a character who takes pity on the protagonist and helps in some way. I have called this character "the donor," using the same term that is used for a similar class of characters in European fairy tales (for example, see Propp 1968:39). European-style donors, however, more often than not give the hero some magical gift to help him on his quest. In *Koyukon Kk'edonts'ednee*, a magical gift is occasionally present, but more often than not, the donor's gift is in the form of some special advice or information. The notion of magic is present in *Koyukon* donors, but it appears more often in the form of an atmosphere of power and mystery rather than in some specific talisman. This sense of magic, as well as the sense of compassion associated with donors, is expressed well by a donor in an *Ingalik* story who says, upon coming down from the second layer of the world to help a man whose wife was kidnapped, "You are crying in the palm of my hand" (Deacon, n.d.).

The beneficiary of the aid given by a donor can be any of the main characters discussed in this chapter, except Raven, but donors are most commonly associated with medicine travelers, boys or girls coming of age, and kidnapped women or their grieving spouses. The beneficiary either comes to the donor's house, which is concealed or remote, or the donor comes to the beneficiary. Although usually only one donor is found in a single story, there can sometimes be more than one. *K'etetaalkkaanee* receives help from the skull of his brother and from the man with snowshoes bent up on both ends. *Ggaadooggaa* (Attla 1989) receives help from an old woman and from his uncles who are at an impasse in the sky world.

Below, I discuss the three most common types of donor—the skull, the old woman, and the parent-in-law. Other donors include a giant ("The One Whose Uncle Put Him in the Water in a Log" in Attla 1983); an enigmatic, axe-swinging man ("The Wind Man" in Attla 1989); and in

Characters Found in Kk'edonts'ednee

K'etetaalkkaanee, an unusual man whose snowshoes are turned up on both ends. A "special friend" is a donor commonly found in war stories. He is the one member of a war party who can be trusted. The special friend is discussed more in this chapter under the title "Friend-to-Friend."

The Skull

A human head or skull is not generally a sympathetic character in non-Koyukon traditions. For example, in the neighboring Kutchin version of *K'etetaalkkaanee*, two brothers are pursued by the murderous, rolling head of their mother (see, for example, McKennan 1965:98ff). In European and American folklore, skeletons are considered fearsome. In a few *Kk'edonts'ednee*, people carry skulls along with them or even kick them along. These skulls represent helpful and friendly guides to the story's protagonist. It is important to note that Koyukon culture today would not consider treating anyone's remains disrespectfully. The dead are feared and respected, especially if the deceased had been a medicine person. Some people can carry on conversations with the dead. Some Athabaskans say that they speak with the dead over their graves, seeking guidance and asking the deceased to use their powers to protect their relatives.

The story in Attla 1983 called "The One Who Kicked His Grandmother's Head Along" is about an orphan boy who is led to a new life and marriage by his deceased grandmother's head. It is an ironic juxtaposition that, while she is leading him, he is kicking her head along. He kicks her head into a water hole as he arrives at each new place. If the place is wrong for him, the head does not sink. Finally, when the head sinks, he knows he has come to the right place for him to settle down.

Attla's second collection of *Kk'edonts'ednee* (1989) includes another story of a beneficent skull, "The One Who Used to Keep a Skull in Bed." A woman, whose husband has killed her family and her baby and has tried to kill her, is aided by a skull. As she walks around a deserted village, she hears a voice from the ground say "Uncover me." It is interesting that the word *Honosedenee'oyh*, used by the voice, is not the word that person would use if he or she were asking to be uncovered. The stem, *'oyh*, plus the gender prefix *denee-* indicates that the voice is coming from a somewhat roundish and heavy object—a skull, as it turns out. (The same word is used to describe a rock, bowling ball or heavy vegetable.) The girl

Donors

carries the skull along with her on her journey and sews a nice, small carrying bag for it. Each night, however, the skull becomes a whole man and acts like a normal husband (hunting for her and so on). The skull instructs her to lower it into the river on a rope when they come to her former husband's new village. She does, and the river floods, drowning her former husband and his new wives. In the end, she finds some nice ground and buries the skull.

K'etetaalkkaanee is also aided by a skull. He goes to a lake full of skulls, and his brother's skull comes up to him and warns him of the evil intentions of the woman whom K'etetaalkkaanee is visiting. The skull advises him to place a rock on his chest at night. K'etetaalkkaanee does put a rock on his chest, and his life is saved because of it. The girl tries to sit on him that night, intending to kill him with her sharpened tail.

There are a few references to helpful skulls outside of the Koyukon tradition. The Canadian Eskimo story of Kiviuq contains an episode in which Kiviuq is warned by a skull of a cannibal woman with a sharp tail. (See, for example, Boas 1901). In a Chukchi story, a skeleton warns someone of approaching killers (Bogoras 1902:584). In a different Chukchi story, a girl finds a skull, makes a nice, embroidered cap for it, and takes it home. Her family finds her laughing with it and deserts her. The skull takes pity on her, goes off in search of its body, and returns as a young man with a large head (Bogoras 1902:664). Rasmussen includes a story called "The Skull That Saved the Girl" in his collection of Alaskan Inupiaq stories (1932:162-171). This story is similar to Koyukon skull-donor stories.

A skull is not always benevolent in Koyukon stories, however. In some war stories, a war party plays a ball game with the head of someone it has killed, and the head flies through the air and kills one of its tormentors. In one story, a young girl is visited by a head that turns out to belong to a salmon boy. She travels to his land and is killed by some people playing a ball game (Lolnitz 1973:23-39).

The Old Woman

Old woman donors in *Kk'edonts'ednee* usually are found by the protagonist in an underground house, which has appeared where he has never seen a house before. Usually the protagonist has to prove his or her worthiness to the old woman. After the old woman aids the protagonist,

Characters Found in Kk'edonts'ednee

she again becomes hidden. By and large, the woman lives alone in her house, but in one story, she uses a young girl as a messenger.

One story is about a man who searches in vain for his kidnapped wife. After he searches and cries for a long time, a house appears to him where he has never seen a house before. It belongs to an old woman who is said to have a halo made of spruce trees. The trees form a circle around the top of her underground house. The grieving husband never sees the old woman. Instead, he converses with a young, fast-talking girl, who acts as a messenger for the old woman. Before the old woman will help him, she needs to be convinced of the depth of his longing. He convinces her with offerings of food and furs. After he gives her what she wants, and after he camps near her house, she is moved to help him and gives him a cane, which leads him to his wife's captor, as well as two other items to help him triumph over the captor. After he gets his wife back, he returns these three items to the old woman's messenger girl. The couple wakes up the next morning to find the house gone.

Attla 1983 includes a story called *Keesootinh*, which is about an orphan boy who puts back together and buries a frog that some other boys have cruelly torn apart. The next winter, while searching for a lost arrow, he comes to an underground house where one had never been before. An old woman with a scarred back is inside—she is the spirit of the frog he had buried. She tells him that she had willed him to put her back together again the summer before and tells him which things are taboo to eat. Because of her advice, he is later able to make a good life for himself.

The other story that contains an old woman donor is "The One Who Secured His Axe to the Sky" (Attla 1989; also called *Gaadook* in Jones and Pilot 1975). A boy named Ggaadooggaa travels to the sky world and goes to the house of an old woman. In Catherine Attla's version, the old woman tells Ggaadooggaa to straddle her smoke hole so she can look up into his heart to see if he is able to perform the tasks that lie ahead of him. She then straddles the smoke hole while he looks into her heart. She is able to kill game by looking at it, so they lack nothing while he stays with her. Her advice to him comes mostly in the form of interdictions; she tells him not to do certain things, and he invariably does them anyway. Actually, her admonishments function as suggestion; she intends for him to do what she tells him not to. In the end, she lowers him back down to earth in a

Donors

skin bag, which is tied to a sinew rope. He ignores her final warning, unfortunately, allowing the end of the rope to snap against the sky. As a result, people subsequently use rope to hang themselves.

The In-Law

In two stories, a powerful parent or grandparent compels a man to come to him or her, without that man's knowing why, so that the man can become a husband for the parent's or grandparent's daughter(s) or granddaughter(s). Both of these stories are in Attila 1989. In one, a young boy paddles quickly across a river in pursuit of a strange man in a canoe, and instead of hitting the opposite bank, he glides into a side stream he has never seen before. The strange man turns out to live alone with his three daughters, who become the wives of the young man after he proves himself a good hunter. The other story is about the northern lights man, whose mother attracts two brothers from a great distance away for husbands for her daughters. In both of these stories the husbands return to their parents and find them grieving. The story about the northern lights man continues as a war story in which all the main characters are killed.

KIN RELATIONSHIPS

Some characters in *Kk'edonts'ednee* are said to live alone, but more often than not a character will start out having at least some kind of family. The network of relationships important to both traditional and modern Athabaskans may not be clearly understood by those who grew up in a culture where the notion of family is equated with the nuclear family. Certain relationships are more common than others in *Kk'edonts'ednee*, and certain characteristics associated with these relationships are more common than others. However, even though relationships and associations may differ from culture to culture, it is probably true that all cultures emphasize certain relationships and associations over others. In European fairy tales, for example, if a child has a step-parent, that step-parent is most likely a step-mother, and she is most likely wicked. This notion is not representative of European culture. There are indeed many good European step-mothers who resent the negative characteristics associated with them. Such associations probably reflect underlying resentments and potential conflicts more than they predict the behavior of European step-mothers. Some have claimed that such negative associations in stories actually help step-parents and step-children deal with their relationship (e.g., Bettelheim 1976).

Grandparent to Grandchild

It is common in *Kk'edonts'ednee* for a child to live with a grandparent. While most of the grandchildren are male, I have yet to see a Koyukon story where the grandparent is male. Many stories begin with the words *neeltsook'aal kkaa ledo* 'a grandmother and her grandchild were staying together.' Jetté (1908:301) claims that, in stories as well as in real life, grandsons stay with grandmothers, and granddaughters with grandfathers. When discussing the opening phrase mentioned above, he says:

...the other person is known to be a grandson, not a granddaugh-

Kin Relationships

ter, from the following of the story, but also from the Ten'a [Koyukon] custom. A grandmother will adopt her grandson, not her granddaughter, because she takes the child as a help for the work, and there is nothing that the girl could do which the old woman could not do herself. But the boy can perform all the tasks which, by custom, are reserved to men, and are not, therefore within the pale of the old woman's attributions. Similarly, a grandfather will adopt a granddaughter, not a grandson, for the same reason.

He may be correct in a general way, but in fact, in several stories, a granddaughter lives with a grandmother (e.g., "*Keela K'ik'idiyeeneelin-inh*" "The Fussy Bachelor," Jones and Solomon 1975, and "The One Who Tore the Bowpiece from Her Grandmother's Canoe," Attla 1989).

We can conclude, however, that when a story states that a child is living with his or her grandmother, the child is an orphan. We can also conclude that, unlike the wicked stepmother of European tradition, the grandmother is kind and helpful. She also often has strong medicine power.

One thing that may be confusing to non-Athabaskans is that the words for grandmother and grandfather, *tsook'aale* and *tseek'aale*, respectively, are also often used as terms of respectful address to refer to any old person. K'etetaalkkaanee, for example, addresses older men whom he has never met as *ts'eeek'aal*, which is the vocative form of "grandfather." Similarly, an older person will address a younger one as *koyh* or *koyaa*, which are the vocative forms for "grandchild."

Older men, called *tseek'aal* in *Kk'edonts'ednee*, are rarely sympathetic characters. One exception is found in "The One Whose Uncle Put Him in the Water in a Log" (Attla1983:138-170), where a boy is aided by a giant whom he addresses as *tseek'aal*. In other stories, an old man is murderous and, to women, lecherous. Old men in Holikachuk and Ingalik stories can, on the contrary, be positive donors.

Parent To Child

As grandparents in *Kk'edonts'ednee* are usually female, so are single parents. The stories of *K'etetaalkkaanee* and *Ggaadooggaa* both begin as young men are home with their mothers, not their fathers. Like grandmothers, mothers are never negative characters. Unlike grandmothers, mothers are not usually said to exercise medicine power. Usually, the

Characters Found in Kk'edonts'ednee

child in these stories is male and an orphan, thus evoking a certain amount of pity. Catherine Attla says in one story, "*Bito' hooldlaa'aa ts'a go Heetinhoy nilaanh, beeznee*" 'It is said that he didn't have a father so he was an orphan' (1983:141). Fatherless boys are considered orphans because they have no one to train them to be proper men. One story, "Liver's Head" (Attla 1989), is about a boy who is raised by his father alone. Because he is being trained to be a warrior, he needs to be raised by a male parent. The only story I know in which a girl lives alone with her mother is "*K'it'inbaalots'ik*" (Attla 1989), in which a girl lives with her mother between her father's death and her unfortunate marriage to Raven.

Uncle To Nephew

In English, the word *aunt* is used to refer to any female sibling of either parent, and the word *uncle* refers to any such male sibling. This is not the case in *Denaakk'e*. One's mother's brother and one's father's sister's husband are called *sel'aa*, while one's father's brother and one's mother's sister's husband are called *setoye*. Children generally are considered to be closer to their mother's brother, *sel'aa*, than to their other uncles. For example, if a child's father dies, he is more likely to be raised by his mother's brother and his wife, than by some other relative.

In *Kk'edonts'ednee*, uncles are often mentioned, and they are, as far as I can tell, always mother's brothers, *sel'aa*. These relationships are not always friendly. The most common uncle-nephew relationship is that of Raven to Mink. In a story in which Raven kills three bears (Attla 1989), he claims to be the uncle of the baby bear. In another story, Raven attempts to kill his sister's son by putting him in the water in a log (Attla 1983).

Husband to Wife

Many stories begin with the phrase "*Neetkkun' kkaa ledo*" 'A man and wife were living together.' Interestingly, when literally translated, the phrase makes no mention of the wife. A piece-by-piece translation is:

- neet* —reciprocal pronoun, 'together'
- kkun'* —'husband'
- kkaa* —plural marker
- ledo* —'were staying'

Kin Relationships

Similar constructions are used for a grandmother and grandchild, and an uncle and nephew. In all such forms, the older or most important member of the pair is the only one explicitly stated. The other member is present only by implication. If there is a husband, for example, there has to be a wife. Jetté (1908:301) claims that there is a form that mentions only the wife, *neel'okkaa ledó*, including 'ot 'wife' instead of *kkun*'. A cognate form is used in some Ingalik stories. Eliza Jones has told me that the form mentioning the wife is not commonly used on the Koyukuk River, and when it is, it implies that the story is specifically about the wife.

If a story begins with this phrase, one can assume that the couple will be broken up by either abduction or infidelity. The couple may or may not be reunited. The Jealous Spouse, the Female Avenger, and the Abducted Woman are characters associated with a married couple.

In traditional Koyukon society, some men, especially medicine men and *doyonh* 'chiefs,' were prone to wanting more than one wife. In *Kk'edonts'ednee*, a man is sometimes said to have more than one wife. It is more common for a man to have two wives than to have three or more. Raven, for example, is often said to have two wives. The first wife is considered more important and is given the most desirable place in the house, next to the husband's place. In *Kk'edonts'ednee* rarely any conflict is seen between wives. In the story "The One Who Drank Water With Dog Droppings in It," a man leaves his two wives after one of them gives him dirty water. One of them follows him but turns back after coming to a bear's head, which her husband has left on the trail. She is then scolded by the older co-wife. This is the only example in *Kk'edonts'ednee*, as far as I know, of conflict between two wives. On the other hand, if a man has just one wife and is unfaithful to her, there certainly is conflict between her and his girlfriends; she usually kills them, and him.

Friend to Friend

Two types of friends are found in Koyukon society and in *Kk'edonts'ednee*: the friend and the special friend. The friend is called *gganaa*, a word also used more specifically to refer to a woman's sister-in-law. Jetté (n.d.) makes the following dictionary entry about *gganaa*:

A woman's sister-in-law, i.e. her brother's wife, or her husband's

Characters Found in Kk'edonts'ednee

sister, the appellation being reciprocal...In upper dialect, used for first cousins of the same sex, where related parents are of different sex [cross cousins]. By extension of the preceding, in upper dialect, fellow, friend, associate, fellow-tribesman, or fellow-tribeswoman. This last use is especially frequent among the upper tribe, with whom it is the usual form of address. It implies an appeal to tribal solidarity, which in ordinary circumstances does not fail to meet with a response. The term must not be used toward a person of different sex, or of different social standing, as between parents and children, a young man and an old one.

Just as it is common to address or refer to any old person as "grandfather" or "grandmother," one often uses the term *gganaa'* for anyone of the same age and sex as the speaker.

Raven sometimes tries to take advantage of the solidarity implied by *gganaa'*. For example, when he comes to a family of three bears whom he intends to kill, he addresses the father bear as *gganaa'*. K'etetaalkkaanee encounters many people whom he addresses as "friend," some of whom he is friendly with, and some of whom he is not.

The concept of a special friend may be strange to non-Athabaskans, but is often mentioned in *Kk'edonts'ednee*. Two *Denakk'e* terms are translated as special friend, and, as in the case of kinship terms, they are inalienably possessed nouns; whenever they are used, they must include a possessor, such as "my friend" or "your friend," rather than merely "friend." The term *-ghok'elaayh* "special friend, trading partner," literally means "he (or she) customarily gives things to me, or trades things with me."

One's special friend can be of any age. The relationship is generally between two people, but two families can also have special friendship. The friendship is started by and occasionally renewed by the exchange of gifts. Mutual hospitality is expected. Special friends are expected to impose on each other in the same way that members of the same family do, and they help each other during difficult times. One can have any number of special friends, including people in the same village. The Koyukon people often traded with Eskimos along the coast and on the Kobuk River. They had special friends with whom they traded, and they acted as their hosts, giving them food and a place to stay.

Kin Relationships

The term *-tlaanh* means 'very close friend,' 'hunting partner,' or, in war stories, 'ally.' The term can also refer to a special relationship between men of similar age who are married into the same family. Traditionally the men provided for their in-laws, so brothers-in-law became hunting partners.

In war stories, it is common for the avenger to have a special friend in the enemy war party. This special friend aids the avenger and tries to dissuade him from fighting. On the other hand, Raven uses the relationship of the special friend to his own advantage. When trying to kill a cannibalistic water creature, he claims to be a fellow cannibal and to have the same name. He insists that they become special friends by trading canoes. The canoe that the creature gets from Raven falls apart after Raven spears the cannibal in the back.

NAMES

As already mentioned, K'etetaalkkaanee's name, Betohoh, is introduced in the first episode and never used again, except indirectly in the second episode. It is common for Koyukon people, including those in *Kk'edonts'ednee* to have an acquired name in addition to their given one. The acquired name is a nickname of sorts, given on the basis of some salient characteristic or action of the person being named. Whereas mainstream American nicknames usually imply familiarity, Koyukon acquired names often have broader connotations. Eliza Jones has told me of a family that named a sickly child "useless," not because the parents considered the child inept or a burden, but because they feared it would die. They hoped that whoever was in charge of deciding who would die would consider a child called "useless" not worth taking.

Medicine people are often referred to by an acquired name. It is unwise to offend a medicine person by calling him his real name. After death, medicine people are often referred to by the place and nature of their death, (e.g., "the one who drowned below Kaltag"). Chief Henry told a story that illustrates the reluctance people sometimes have about calling a medicine person by name (the story has not been published). Some people were taking part in a custom in which they would go door-to-door with a blanket, calling the occupants by name, and asking them to throw gifts into the blanket. When they arrived at a medicine man's house they paused, not knowing what to say. Finally they called, "Shall we use your name?" The medicine man replied by saying something like, "Well, that is what it is for." They used his name, and he and his wife were very generous in their gifts, a gun and a parka.

Characters in *Kk'edonts'ednee* are often referred to by an acquired name, and often this name is also the title of the story, as in "The One Who Drank Water With Dog Droppings in It." It is sometimes hard to tell

Names

titles from names, however, as titles are often nominalizations of a verb or sentence describing some salient action of the character or characters involved, as in "The Ones Who Killed a Cannibal." Sometimes characters have two names, as is the case with K'etetaalkkaanee. In one story, Catherine Attla says, in translation, "Her name was Donooghanotok'edaat'no, but she had dragged her bag for such a long way that she became known as Diluyht' Ghaggast' ('she's dragging her bag') (1983:183).

Often, however, characters will retain their given names throughout the story. Ggaadooggaa and K'it'inbaalots'ik are examples. Male avengers in war stories, in fact, are more often than not referred to by their given names. Unkk'uya, Deeneegidzee, and K'ikol'on Tlee' are examples (all of whom are found in Attla 1989).

Chapter 4
Situations in *Kk'edonts'ednee*

DANGERS

Just as there are recurring characters in *Kk'edonts'ednee*, there are also recurring situations. The most salient of these situations can be grouped into two categories: dangers and interactions. I subdivide recurrent dangers into three subclasses: those dealing with (1) obsession, (2) demise, and (3) alienation. I define danger as anything that threatens a good life, a good life being a prosperous one with a family and community. To the Koyukon people, prosperity means having enough food and clothing to satisfy one's own needs and the needs of others.

Neither characters nor situations in *Kk'edonts'ednee* have the same clear-cut division between good and bad that many of us have come to expect in fairytale-like stories. In *Kk'edonts'ednee*, there are never such extreme opposites as god and devil, or hero and villain. This baffles non-Athabaskans who read *Kk'edonts'ednee*; they wonder why good is often not rewarded nor evil punished. *Kk'edonts'ednee* are not concerned with the ultimate triumph of justice. In this regard, they are perhaps more realistic than the moralistic tales told to children nowadays. It seems to be accepted by traditional Koyukon people that no one is perfect—perhaps least of all someone great. For example, the wolverine is recognized as having a mean nature, but it is still regarded as one of the most powerful animals.

Obsessions

Moderation is a quality valued by traditional Koyukon people, and it is believed that transgressing the bounds of moderation often leads to tragic results. Four types of obsession are found in *Kk'edonts'ednee*: gluttony, revenge, love, and jealousy. The first is associated exclusively with Raven. No other Koyukon character goes to the extremes he does to get food. Bears have big appetites but are not gluttons. Seagulls have disgusting eating habits, similar to ravens', but are not presented in *Kk'edonts'ednee*.

Dangers

as being gluttonous. Contrasting with gluttony is the fear of, and actual occurrence of, starvation in *Kk'edonts'ednee*, but the theme of starvation is not present in stories about Raven's gluttony to any greater extent than it is in other types of stories.

Revenge in itself generally does not have negative repercussions, although it does not lead to prosperity and a happy family life. The avenging female, after killing her ex-husband and his young wives, is alone, while the best the avenging male, the warrior, can hope for is premature aging. Often he dies by his own hand. It is possible, however, to become so obsessed with revengeful killing that death at the hands of the enemy is inevitable. *Unkk'uya*, an avenger, needlessly and obsessively kills one war party after another until he comes to a humiliating demise through the actions of some powerful medicine people. Trapped on a high, cold mountain, he freezes to death after urinating on himself in an effort to keep warm (Attla 1989).

Love can lead to obsessive jealousy. The character I have named "The Jealous Spouse" acts out of obsessive love. Obsessive jealousy never turns out well. The two stories of obsessive jealousy, "The *Taahsol* Woman" and "The Woodpecker" (both in Attla 1989), are associated with starvation. In the former, the jealous wife drives her husband away, along with the entire village. While she lives well, her husband and the others experience a devastating famine. In "The Woodpecker," the jealous husband withholds food from his wife. At one point, the wife finds a bear's den with the help of her dog, and her husband gives her some food in a cruel and ironic demonstration of mutual dependence. In traditional Koyukon society, the family works together to produce a livelihood; the husband and wife depend on each other. The man's feeding his wife as she is bound to a tree mocks this arrangement.

Love can also be manifested as an obsession of a husband whose wife has been abducted. He searches for her until he finally receives help from some compassionate character in the story. This is the case in the story, "The Eagle Man Who Carried People Far Away," in which husband and wife are reunited. Raven himself is the victim of an obsessive love in one story. He abducts a young girl and keeps her prisoner. After the girl is rescued by a powerful and compassionate man, Raven is obsessed with finding her again. The man who rescued the girl finally takes pity on

Situations in Kk'edonts'ednee

Raven and leads him to his village. There Raven sees that the girl has become a contented wife of the man who rescued her. In a gesture of compassion, the man puts Raven out of his misery by killing him.

Demises

I have included a fairly broad range of possible ends in the category "demise," some of which may seem foreign to someone unfamiliar with the Koyukon tradition. A character's demise does not necessarily mean death as we know it. It can, instead, be a permanent transformation into animal form, or transportation to another world. It can also mean a permanent state of poverty or humiliation. Sometimes characters deserve their demise and sometimes they do not. To be sure, a character's success or demise often depends on that character's qualities—cleverness, strength, medicine power, and the like—but luck is often the determining factor.

Even though a demise is feared, death and transformation are not necessarily viewed as bad or tragic. I have already pointed out that, while many white people view K'etetaalkkaanee's end as tragic or disappointing, traditional Koyukon people do not make such a negative evaluation. Death itself is also not necessarily bad. Although someone lost to death is mourned and missed, people are said to go to a good place after death. This place is said to be upriver, although a living person could not travel upriver and eventually arrive at the land of the dead; this land is upriver in a spiritual or metaphorical sense. Traveling upriver is symbolic of being free of all the restrictions of earthly life. While in life it is difficult to paddle a canoe against the current, it is easy for the spirit. In the story *K'etlenbaalots'ek* (Attla 1989), a girl sees her deceased father paddling swiftly upstream toward the land of the dead. At the end of the story, the girl dies herself and happily joins her father and husband in the land of the dead. For her, death is welcome; she had the misfortune, in life, to be married to Raven.

Starvation

The presence or absence of game in Alaska's interior is unpredictable, and, at times, people dependent on this game have lacked food. The threat of starvation has always been real and frightening to the people of this region. For this reason, traditional Koyukon people have strong feel-

Dangers

ings against wasting food or treating it disrespectfully. The threat of starvation is a common theme in *Kk'edonts'ednee*. Starvation can threaten an entire community, a family, or an individual. A common image associated with starvation is that of loose clothing. People who lose weight from lack of food need to bind their loose clothing around them with a belt.

Several times K'etetaalkkaanee threatens a family's livelihood, either by withholding some implement or by disabling the main breadwinner. He threatens a camp robber's family with starvation by breaking the camp robber man's leg. He steals a fishhook from a fisherman and breaks a wolverine man's axe. He never does, however, actually let anyone starve. (Few, if any, people in *Kk'edonts'ednee* actually die from starvation). He himself is sometimes in need of food on his journey. The donor who wears snowshoes turned up on both ends helps K'etetaalkkaanee by telling him where to find some game that he has killed.

Impasse

The impasse is a demise peculiar to medicine travelers, and it has already been discussed in the previous chapter. Briefly, a medicine traveler is at an impasse when he is unable to overcome some obstacle. In such a state, he is unable to leave the point at which he meets his demise. K'etetaalkkaanee's brother who is enslaved by a village is at an impasse when K'etetaalkkaanee sees him. K'etetaalkkaanee is unable to take his brother beyond that point, even after killing everyone in the village. Ggaadooggaa meets his uncles, who are at an impasse with a man and daughter. Ggaadooggaa kills the man and his daughter, but his uncles are left in the same impoverished state. When Raven tries to take back a girl he has kidnapped, the girl's rescuer causes him to fall into a pit, only visible and dangerous to medicine men. Raven then falls into another world.

Transformation

Transformation is perhaps the most common form of demise in *Kk'edonts'ednee*, although there may be some question as to whether it is a demise at all. Many characters in *Kk'edonts'ednee* have the ability to change from animal to human form and back again, but when killed or alienated, some characters change permanently into animal form. When they do, they retain behaviors and physical characteristics they had before

Situations in Kk'edonts'ednee

the transformation. The many transformations that take place in *K'etetaalkkaanee* are caused by some slight, usually unintentional action on the part of *K'etetaalkkaanee*. In the end, he himself is transformed into a bird.

Floods and drowning

A flood is a motif frequently found in *Kk'edonts'ednee*. Rivers in Alaska's interior sometimes flood, and they have been known to damage or destroy villages. With the exception of the all-destructive deluge after which Raven remade the world, floods in *Kk'edonts'ednee* are caused by the action of some character. In one previously mentioned female avenger story, a woman lowers a donor skull into the water, causing her ex-husband's village to be flooded. *K'etetaalkkaanee* swamps the pathetic boats of some little people, drowning them. In another story, a sky person drowns when a girl pulls on the hook he has been using to take her rabbits. The man's sky canoe capsizes, he falls to the ground, and "drowns" (Attla 1989). *K'etetaalkkaanee* drowns the father of a girl he has killed by causing the man to dive after *K'etetaalkkaanee's* reflection in the water.

Other forms of death

Other forms of death found in *Kk'edonts'ednee* include death at the hands of a cannibal, freezing, being thrown or falling over a cliff, death by fire, being killed by a war party, being crushed by a collapsing house, and death by stabbing or bludgeoning.

Alienation

The last type of danger I will discuss is alienation. Like the other dangers included in this chapter, this one is more a classification of similar dangers than a specific danger itself. I use the term to describe any physical, social, or mental separation. It covers all different types of alienation from community and family or from another person. Alienation can be the result of bad luck or malice, or it can be part of the natural order of things. If it is a disruption of the status quo, then it must lead either to demise or to a good life. Alienation can be viewed from several perspectives, varying in who is isolated from whom, whether it is accidental or purposeful, whether the person is isolated by his own choice or by the choice of others. Certain characters are associated with alienation. Stories about orphans

Dangers

always involve alienation. An orphan is alienated from family, but an alienation of status is also involved. Orphans typically do the least desirable work and occupy the least desirable position in general. Medicine travelers and female travelers are also alienated, the former by choice—or perhaps destiny—the latter by having been driven away. An abducted woman is, of course, also alienated from her family and community. A person who will not marry is also isolated from family and community, but he or she is isolated by choice. As mentioned before, in traditional times it was considered unusual for someone, especially a girl, to remain unmarried. In "The One Who Kicked His Grandmother's Head Along" (Attla 1989), an unmarried girl is scorned and mocked by her parents and set apart in her own house, thereby reinforcing the social alienation with a physical one.

Girls of age in seclusion are alienated from the rest of their family. They are unable to interact with their family and are often kept away from the house. In *Kk'edonts'ednee*, this separation often leads to greater, even permanent, separation. After *K'etetaalkkaanee* kills the family of a girl in seclusion, the girl is left alone and, missing her family, she cries and becomes part of a spruce tree. In another story, a girl in sequestration makes the mistake of speaking at a potlatch and, as a result, while she is in seclusion, her baby sister kills everyone else in the village ("She's Dragging Her Bag" in Attla 1983). It must have been difficult and lonely being separated from one's family, unaware of what was going on. Stories in which a girl's family or community is killed while she is secluded must have had a special meaning to those who had been secluded. In two stories, a sequestered girl is kidnapped, in one by Raven ("Great Raven Who Abducted a Young Girl" in Attla 1989) and in the other by the spirit of a dead person (*K'it'enbaalots'ik* in Attla 1989).

In many stories, people or families are described as living away from everyone else, and this alienation is not necessarily a bad thing. Donors always live away from any community and are sometimes from another world. Often a traveler will come upon a family living alone, and someone in the family will remark that he did not know any other people were around. *K'etetaalkkaanee* comes upon such people. In some Ingalik stories, people living alone are described as being unaware that anyone else exists (Deacon n.d.). Rasmussen (1932:34) says that this state is prevalent in Alaska Inupiaq stories: "Their stories always deal with places where

Situations in Kk'edonts'ednee

father, mother, and children are the sole inhabitants. These do not know the joy of meeting other men, or hearing of other people's experiences. Nothing comes to them from without...."

Another kind of separation occurs when families camp or travel alone as part of the annual cycle. In two stories, this separation allows a husband to be cruel to his wife. In "The Woodpecker Who Starved His Wife," a man starves his wife because he is jealous (Attla 1989). In another story, an isolated fox-man uses the opportunity to kill his wife's family and to attempt to kill her ("The One Who Recognized Her Younger Brother's Crippled Finger" in Attla 1989).

In some stories (for example in those about jealousy and infidelity), alienation can be the result of extreme anger. In a few stories, a person vents his or her anger against an entire community. For example, after the woodpecker-man's death at the hands his wife's brothers, the woodpecker's brother, a flicker-man with a mean temper, kills an entire community. In a story of jealousy, a woman drives away not only her husband, but her entire community. Instead of being an outcast of the community, she is quite literally able to cast the community out because of the intensity of her anger ("The *Taahsol* Woman" in Attla 1989).

Transformations may be considered a form of alienation. The transition from *Kk'edonts'ednee* time to the present world was one in which humans and animals lost the ability to communicate easily with one another and to change from one into the other. In the present world, although direct communication is impossible, it is still possible to alienate an animal. If one offends an animal, that animal will not allow itself to be caught in the future by the offender.

Death is also a form of alienation. While the souls of the dead live on, it is not common for them to mix with the living. They are said to be shy of the living. In a story mentioned above, a girl is kidnapped by a dead man's spirit and is taken to his village. She cannot climb a mountain of ice in front of the village, however, because she is still alive, so she has to stay by herself and be visited every day by her kidnapper-husband. She later returns to the land of the living. On her way, she sees the spirit of her deceased father paddling a canoe upriver. As he goes by, he says to her, "I shun you." He is not rejecting his daughter because of any of her actions; he merely is alienated from all living persons.

INTERACTIONS

Some of the more interesting situations found in *Kk'edonts'ednee*, are those involving interaction between people. Sometimes these interactions are friendly; sometimes they are unfriendly. Unfriendly interactions can be openly hostile, involving physical aggression, or they can be strategic, involving a battle of the wits. I am using "strategic" here not in the military sense of the word, but in the sociological sense (e.g., Goffman 1969) where characters deceive or surreptitiously observe one another—or try to. Sometimes the result may not be as fateful as those conforming to a strict definition of strategic interaction, but sometimes the outcome is literally a matter of life and death. I use the term *friendly interaction* to refer to three types of positive relationships: collegial, succoring, and familial. These different types of relationships and interactions will be discussed below.

Interactions in *Kk'edonts'ednee* are generally configured in two ways: one person interacts with another, or one person interacts with a group. Rarely does one group interact with another. The lack of group-to-group interaction is especially evident in war stories, in which a person almost always fights a war party by himself or herself. In one story, a family is besieged by a war party. The family comprises an old woman, her daughter, her daughter-in-law, her daughters' husbands, and her son, who is the northern lights man. They battle a war party individually until all of them are dead, except the northern lights man, who escapes. It is striking that they go out of the house one at a time to fight the war party. After one person is killed, another goes out to fight. They never combine their efforts or talents to face the war party.

Interactions in *Kk'edonts'ednee* may be introduced at the beginning of a story by such phrases as "A grandmother and her grandson were living together," or they may come at a later time in the story when one character approaches another. An approach can be either surreptitious or direct,

Situations in Kk'edonts'ednee

and the approach can be made with either good or bad intentions. I am aware of only one type of approach that specifically indicates someone's intentions—the act of entering an underground, or winter house. Someone with good intentions brushes the snow from his or her feet in the entryway, and then enters. Someone with bad intentions enters without such an announcement. In the winter episodes of *K'etetaalkkaanee*, K'etetaalkkaanee always brushes his feet before entering a house, signifying that he means no harm to the inhabitants. On the other hand, in "The Ones Who Killed the Cannibal" (Attla 1989), a cannibal with sinister intentions enters a family's house without brushing his feet or giving any other kind of advance warning.

A surreptitious approach in *Kk'edonts'ednee* is one in which a character sneaks up on, or hides from, a person in order to observe him or her. Often a person will hide in the woods and watch, or, in the winter, he will look into the smoke hole of an underground house and observe the inhabitant or inhabitants. A surreptitious approach can end in a friendly interaction, as in "The One Who Secured His Axe to the Sky," where Ggaadoggaa looks into the smoke hole of an old woman's house. The woman turns out to be a powerful donor. Often, however, a surreptitious approach precedes hostile or strategic interaction. The only conclusion that can be safely drawn from a surreptitious approach is that the approacher is being cautious and wants to observe the approached before making any moves.

A direct approach can sometimes indicate ill intentions, as is the case when someone enters a house without warning. This is also true in Raven stories, in which Raven often approaches people in a friendly manner in order to gain their trust before doing them harm. On the other hand, a direct approach often signifies good intentions.

The final point I would like to make about approaches has to do with the point of view—the character or characters through whose eyes the audience is visualizing the story. I have just said that any approach, surreptitious or not, can end in either a friendly or unfriendly interaction. This generalization is true when the interaction is seen from the approacher's point of view. However, whenever the interaction is viewed from the perspective of a person in a house and this person is approached from outside, directly or not, it is likely that unfriendly interaction will follow.

Interactions

Unfriendly Interactions

I have classed unfriendly interactions into two types: hostilities and stratagems. Hostilities involve physical encounters, while stratagems are mental or spiritual. Few interactions, however, involve one and not the other. Usually, hostile action follows strategic action. Strategic interactions are the more complex of the two, so I will discuss them more thoroughly. Hostile interactions include such things as attacks against, or by, war parties; cruelty by a jealous spouse; abduction; and, of course, murder.

Stratagems

Strategic interaction plays a central role in stories about Raven, hence his reputation as a "trickster," but such interaction is common in other stories, including *K'etetaalkkaanee*, and it is, in general, an effective and frequently-used stylistic device that provides both suspense and humor. The success of this type of interaction relies partly on the intelligence of the victim, but also, and perhaps more importantly, on the relative degree of medicine power possessed by the participants. The use of medicine power adds an additional level to the complexities of strategic interaction in *Kk'edonts'ednee*. On one level, one person is trying to deceive another with some clever guise, while simultaneously, on another level, he is trying to read the other's mind and influence the other's thoughts. Sometimes the outcome is determined by cleverness, sometimes by the use of medicine power, and sometimes by the fear of medicine power. As stated in the discussion of Raven's character, Raven is so powerful that sometimes people will go along with his wishes even when his pretensions are blatantly ridiculous and his schemes transparent.

Strategic interaction in *Kk'edonts'ednee* may end in some hostile act. Raven often tricks people into trusting him, only to kill them, as he does with a water monster in one story and a bear family in another (both in Attla 1969). Such hostile acts are not, however, the necessary result of strategic interaction. One may triumph intellectually or spiritually over another as a means of gaining his or her respect. This is the case when *K'etetaalkkaanee* breaks the wolverine's tooth. The wolverine acknowledges *K'etetaalkkaanee*'s power, and the interaction is no longer strategic. Sometimes someone who is not fooled by a strategic interaction may make an unsuccessful attempt at a hostile counter-move. This happens when the

Situations in Kk'edonts'ednee

little people try to burn K'etetaalkkaanee, and when the father of the woman that K'etetaalkkaanee has killed tries to kill K'etetaalkkaanee's reflection in the water. Another example is in a story in which some men try to prepare to attack another man and his grandmother by knocking down trees and making countless arrows—far too many for the task at hand—and allow the intended victims to escape (*Unkk'uya* in Attla 1989). The latter two examples are also illustrations of someone's thoughts being confused by superior medicine power.

In summary, a person who is the victim of another's guises may: (1) see through the guises but be afraid to make any countermoves; (2) see through them and acknowledge inferiority; (3) see through them and make a pitiful attempt at a countermove; or (4) not see through them and suffer the consequences. Another way of looking at strategic interaction is to examine the nature of the stratagems. I will discuss three here: pretensions, false props, and surrogates.

Pretensions

I have already discussed Raven's feigning kinship or friendship as a guise for a hostile act. K'etetaalkkaanee often does the same, not necessarily by claiming a relationship, but by acting friendly when he bears ill will. For example, in the "Hawk Owl" episode, while pretending to be cordial, he intentionally steps on a little piece of fat that is meant to feed him and the entire hawk owl family. In another episode he turns into a pike and steals a fisherman's fishhook, and then approaches the fisherman as though he were his friend. This same feigned friendship is found, with the perspective reversed, in the episode in which a cannibalistic woman plays the part of an overeager suitor. It is ironic that, while Raven is commonly called "The Trickster," K'etetaalkkaanee's tricks sometimes seem crueller and more pointless than Raven's. Raven basically tricks people for one of two reasons, either to help people by eliminating some threat or to get food. K'etetaalkkaanee's motivation is not always so transparent.

Related to feigned friendship is the assumption of a false identity. Male avengers or warriors sometimes pretend to be someone other than themselves and, in so doing, are able to approach and speak with the war party that is pursuing them. *Unkk'uya* does this when he tells a war party that he believes he has heard of someone named *Ankk'uya*, and then he leads

Interactions

them back to his home so he can kill them. Raven assumes the identity of a girl in puberty seclusion in order to abduct a girl who really is secluded.

Being offered food by a cannibal who is posing as a friendly host is a situation that requires pretention on the part of the guest. The guest must either pretend to eat the food or pretend not to be hungry. One can recognize a cannibal in several ways. The offered food might have fine human hairs in it, or the host may be seen tanning a fine (i.e. human) skin, or there may be bones and skulls near the cannibal's house.

Feigned worthlessness is another pretention found in *Kk'edonts'ednee*. In this case, one pretends to be uninformed, clumsy, or incapable, when in fact the opposite is true. One's true nature is revealed in time. This pretention is invariably used by an orphan who makes good. Male avengers and warriors do the same. In the story of "Liver's Head" (Attla 1989), the hero pretends to be a slow runner when he, in truth, is uncommonly swift, and his amused pursuers are caught off guard when he eventually zips past them. Characters sometimes escape death and, in turn, cause the demise of their would-be murderers, by influencing the choice of the murder weapon. They do so by saying something like, "I am not worth wasting a weapon on, why don't you... [just burn me, etc.]."

Another common deception is the pretense of offering aid. Raven offers to help a bear man patch holes in a weir, when in fact there are no holes. Raven then kicks some holes in the weir and then helps the bear man repair them, building a bond based on deceit (Attla 1989). While K'etetaalkkaanee is helping the little people pursue a caribou, he purposely swamps their canoes and drowns them.

A similar deception is the pretense of requesting aid. In order to cut his canoe free from its lashings and escape, K'etetaalkkaanee asks the cannibal woman he is staying with to fetch him some cool water from a side stream. Sometimes characters will say to their captors that they need to relieve themselves. The abducted woman in "Willow Grouse" tries to escape from Raven by using this ploy (Attla 1983).

Feigned death is found in a few stories. K'etetaalkkaanee feigns death twice, once to kill a family of cannibals, and once to grab Raven's beak.

False Props

Some strategists in *Kk'edonts'ednee* use false props to make their

Situations in Kk'edonts'ednee

deceptions seem plausible. These false props can be a disguise, or a manufactured item. They are associated with Raven more than with any other character. Raven uses a disguise when he poses as a girl in puberty seclusion. People assume that he is an orphan girl in seclusion because he walks alone, wrapped in a blanket. They take pity on him without his having to say anything. In the same story, he castrates himself to give his identity as a girl more credence. In other stories, Raven makes false props out of spruce pitch—a canoe in one story, and spears in another. In one story he collects mushrooms and wills them to look like human ears, which he then uses to deceive a cannibal. In another story, after Raven kills a whale, he pulls out part of his own intestines and wills them to look like the intestines of a game animal. He does this to support his claim that the whale died accidentally while hunting. (Stories mentioned above are in Attla 1989.)

Surrogates

In some stories, a character will fool a pursuer with some surrogate of himself or herself. K'tetaalkkaanee tricks the marten man by making a dummy of himself. In "The One Who Secured His Axe to the Sky," Ggaadooggaa stays with a cannibalistic girl and her father. In the night, he cuts off the girl's hair and puts it on his own head. The girl's father feels around in the dark and kills his own daughter, thinking that she is Ggaadooggaa (Attla 1989). After Raven abducts a young girl, the girl escapes with another man by using a burning fungus to imitate her voice, making Raven think that she is still in his camp (Attla 1989).

The Dynamics of Deceit

As mentioned above, deceptions may or may not be recognized by the intended victims. Attempts at deception and the uncovering of deception may be viewed in terms of what Goffman (1969) calls *moves*. The five moves he delineates are (1) an unwitting move, which is not intended to be deceptive; (2) a naive move, in which someone reacts to a previous move that is presumed to be unwitting; (3) a control or covering move, which is meant to deceive; (4) an uncovering move, which is intended to uncover a covering move; and (5) a counter-uncovering move, in which one attempts to block anticipated uncovering moves.

Interactions

Any attempt at deception can be met with either a naive move, and therefore be successful, or with an uncovering move. One can attempt to hold off any uncovering moves with counter-uncovering ones. False props are often used in counter-uncovering moves. Below is a presentation of the dynamics of Raven's fooling a water monster in a story from Attla 1989.

1. Raven claims to be the water monster's special friend. *Control or covering move*
2. The water monster looks suspiciously at him. *Uncovering move*
3. Raven gets the water monster to say that they have the same names. Raven sees human ears in the back of the water monster's canoe and praises him for being a good hunter. *Counter-uncovering move*
4. The water monster looks into the back of Raven's canoe. *Uncovering move*
5. Prior to this, Raven has put mushrooms in the back of his canoe and has willed them to look like human ears. The water monster is deceived. *Counter-uncovering move*
6. Raven gets the water monster to trade canoes and engage in a spear throwing game, during which Raven spears the water monster. *Control or covering move*

Other deceptions require fewer moves. In one episode previously mentioned, K'etetaalkkaanee makes a dummy of himself to fool a marten man. This deception is an example of a control move being met with a naive one. As I already mentioned, the success of a control or counter-control move can depend on the relative degree of medicine power of the participants. When K'etetaalkkaanee shoots a mink woman with an invisible arrow shaft, he is uncovered by superior medicine power.

1. K'etetaalkkaanee shoots a mink girl in the leg with an invisible arrow and causes her to become ill. *Control or covering move*
2. Various medicine men try to discover what is making her sick. *Unsuccessful uncovering moves*
3. A powerful medicine man discovers that K'etetaalkkaanee caused her illness. *Successful uncovering move*

Situations in Kk'edonts'ednee

I should repeat here that such an analysis has a qualification that must be applied to some Raven stories. Often people see through Raven's deception, but they do nothing because they fear his power. In fact, Raven's deceptions are sometimes so transparent that they can be seen as a single uncovered, but effective, move. Such deceptions might be best termed "pseudodeceptions."

Friendly Interactions

Just as unfriendly interactions can add both humor and suspense to stories, friendly interactions can provide earnestness and comfort. Friendly interactions also can add to suspense by providing a poignant prelude to danger. I have classed these interactions as either collegial, succoring, or familial. In general, donors are associated with succoring interaction, and friends—special or regular—with collegial interactions, but the association is not always clear-cut.

Succoring Interactions

Succoring interactions usually involve a younger person's benefiting from the assistance of an older person. Any older person is called *tsook'aale* 'grandmother, old woman,' or *tseek'aale* 'grandfather, old man.' The older person has the power to draw the younger one to him or her, or to appear to the younger one seemingly out of nowhere. Furthermore, in at least two stories ("The Northern Lights Man" in Attla 1989 and "The One Whose Uncle Put Him in the Water in a Log" in Attla 1983), the benefactor has the ability to bend the land, so that the journey of the person being helped is shortened.

Sometimes the benefactor assists by offering advice, and this advice can be in the form of either an interdiction (a warning *not to* do something) or a direction (an instruction *to* do something). The distinction is important, because interdictions are almost always disobeyed, while directions are almost always followed. An example of a disobeyed interdiction is found in "The One Who Kicked His Grandmother's Head Along" (Attla 1983), in which the protagonist is given wolf-legging boots by his father-in-law and told not to hang them by the fire. Of course, he does hang them by the fire, and they turn back into a wolf, which walks away during the night. In a different story, an old woman helps the husband of a kidnapped

Interactions

woman rescue his wife by lending him some magical objects and giving directions on how and when to use them. He does exactly as she says and rescues his wife ("The Eagle Man Who Carried People Far Away" in Attla 1989).

"The One Who Secured His Axe to the Sky" (Attla 1989) is an interesting example of interdictions violated and directions followed. On earth, Ggaadooggaa is given circumlocutory directions by his mother, and he, to her distress, follows them literally. For example, when his mother means for him to set some rabbit snares, she tells him to throw them by rabbit trails, which is exactly what he does. On the other hand, in the sky world he disobeys every one of an old woman's interdictions—interdictions she makes knowing that he will disobey them. In fact, she probably means for him to disobey her.

In two episodes, K'etetaalkkaanee is given directions. In two others, he is given interdictions. The directions, of course, are followed, and the interdictions are ignored. He follows the advice of the man wearing snowshoes bent up on both ends, who indirectly tells him where to find food. He also follows the directions given him by his brother's skull, putting a stone on his chest at night. On the other hand, he ignores the interdiction of the man who spears fish through the ice and sets aside some food. He also ignores Raven when he tells him not to shoot the lead caribou of a herd that Raven brings to him. In the former case, his host's livelihood is threatened, but no harm is done in the end. In the latter episode, K'etetaalkkaanee has fun at Raven's expense.

Collegial Interactions

Collegial interactions usually take place between friends or special friends. In these interactions, as in succoring interactions, one person benefits from the other, but unlike succoring ones, collegial ones imply equality of age, sex, and power among the participants. Assistance among friends often takes the form of food, shelter, and companionship. Sometimes it involves assistance in battle. It also commonly involves some kind of verbal assistance, either a warning ("Watch out for...") or pleading ("Please turn back...," "Don't try to....") Warnings, like the directions of a donor, are usually heeded, while pleadings, like interdictions, are ignored.

Situations in Kk'edonts'ednee

Interactions in K'etetaalkkaanee

A special note on the role of interactions in *K'etetaalkkaanee* is in order, as each episode is about some interaction, and many different kinds of interactions take place. *K'etetaalkkaanee* often deceives his hosts, sometimes to avoid danger, sometimes for no apparent reason. Sometimes the relationship is collegial; in other episodes, such as "The One Who Was Married to His Own Hand" and "Marten," *K'etetaalkkaanee* is merely an observer. One special feature of *K'etetaalkkaanee* is that, in addition to friendly and unfriendly interactions, the absence of an interaction is also possible. In the episode "Grandfather, I Have Come to You," *K'etetaalkkaanee* makes repeated and unsuccessful attempts at communication, but it is all one-sided. The old man never responds, even when *K'etetaalkkaanee* defecates in the water in which the old man is fishing. In the episode "Horned Owl," on the other hand, *K'etetaalkkaanee* makes friends with someone else who does not speak—someone who, in fact, lacks a mouth to do so.

Chapter 5
Time and Place
in *Kk'edonts'ednee*

SETTINGS

Location

In this section, I will discuss the types of houses and settlements found in *Kk'edonts'ednee* so that readers can picture the settings of the stories. People in *Kk'edonts'ednee* lived in the same kinds of places, engaging in the same kinds of activities, as the Koyukon did until recently, when contact with white people brought changes. Many things remain the same: the seasons, kinship, friendship, and so on. In traditional times and in *Kk'edonts'ednee* time, physical settings were generally associated with certain activities and certain times of the year. Usually the setting is introduced within the first two phrases of a story. It is often possible for the place, time of year, and activity to be gleaned from the specific mention of just one of them. For example, if a story starts out by saying that some people were staying in fish camp, we can infer that it is summer and that people are hard at work, catching and cutting fish. One cannot, however, evaluate the tone of a story from a specific setting. For example, an abandoned village may be the scene of something good or something bad, as may a fish camp or a winter house.

Underground Houses

Underground, or more correctly, semisubterranean, houses are typically found in stories that take place during the winter or fall, after the last run of fish. Underground houses have not been used in the Koyukon region in this century, and there is no one alive today who actually lived in one. Jules Jetté, in his unpublished dictionary (n.d.), gives a full description of these houses. He also gives a briefer description of them in his article on Ten'a folklore (1908:307-308). Furthermore, archaeologists have discovered physical evidence of the nature of these houses (e.g., Clark and Clark 1974). My diagram and discussion of underground houses is based

Settings

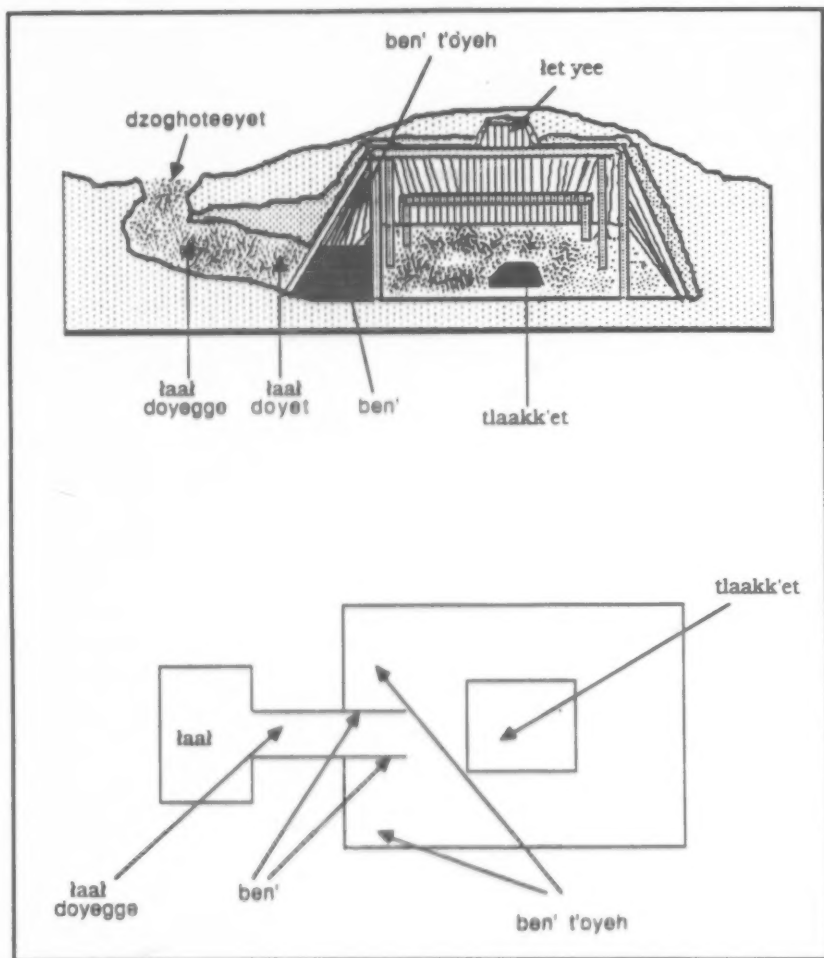
partly on Jetté, as well as on Clark and Clark, but I intend to discuss these houses as they are said to have appeared in *Kk'edonts'ednee* time, and when a contradiction exists between other sources and what is described in *Kk'edonts'ednee*, I use the descriptions from the *Kk'edonts'ednee* stories. For the most part, however, the various descriptions agree.

The *Denaakk'e* words for these houses are *naakklookkuno* and *naaha-looyeh*, both of which mean 'winter dwelling.' The dwelling itself was a single, rectangular room, 4.5 by 6 meters, according Clark and Clark (1974:35). This room was partially underground and was covered with dirt and sod. People entered the room by crawling through a tunnel, called *laaldoyegge* 'below the *laal*' or 'path down from the *laal*.' At the top of the tunnel was a small room called the *laal*, which was entered through an opening above it, called the *dzoghoteyet*. The word *dzoghoteyet* is still used to mean 'doorway,' and *laalyeet* 'in the *laal*,' is used to refer to a porch or arctic entry. The place where the *laaldoyegge* entered the house was called the *laaldoyet*. *Doyet* refers to a narrow opening, as on a bottle or an animal's den. Two short birch partitions, called *ben'*, extended a couple of feet into the room. A hide curtain was sometimes hung in front of the entryway. On either side of the *ben'* were the two areas called *ben't'oyeh*. According to the stories, one *ben't'oyeh* was used for food storage, and the other was used as a toilet area. (Jetté calls the two sides of the house *ben't'oyeh*.)

In the middle of the room was a raised hearth or fireplace, called *tlaakk'et* 'rock place,' which was used for heating and cooking. The women of the house are said to have spent most of their time working around this hearth. The men spent their time off to the side, away from the hearth. In one story, a boy is criticized for spending too much time in the middle of the room (Attla 1983:19). Above the hearth was the smoke hole, *letyee*. Large or heavy things that would have been difficult to drag through the *laaldoyegge* were often lowered into the house through the smoke hole. It is common in *Kk'edonts'ednee* for someone to look at the people in a house through the smoke hole. It is also common for someone to spot a thin trail of smoke rising from someone's smoke hole.

One stylistic device, used relatively often, is to have someone outside a house, and someone else inside. This device is often used to convey psychological distance. Observation through a smoke hole indicates caution,

Time and Place in Kk'edonts'ednee



and sometimes malice, on the part of the observer. Other types of scenes reflect different types of distance. For example, in the spring camp episode of *K'etetaalkkaanee*, K'etetaalkkaanee, who is in love with a fox woman, waits outside a house filled with small animals while each of the animals comes out to him, one at a time, to offer herself in her sister's stead. Finally, the animals enlarge the entrance to the house and allow him entry. In the "Shovel Man" episode, K'etetaalkkaanee waits inside the house while

Settings

the shovel man, whom he never sees, sings outside. Similarly, in "The Eagle Man Who Carried People Far Away," a man is helped by a powerful old woman who lives in a house that is ringed with spruce trees. He never sees this woman, but instead talks with her spokesperson, a fluttery, young messenger girl.

The Village

Some stories are set in a village. The actual word for village, *kkaayeh*, usually refers to a winter village of underground houses. If it is said in a story that people are gathered together in the summer, it can be assumed that they are at a fish camp and living in summer houses. Otherwise, the word *village* itself implies that it is fall or winter. During the spring, people would leave the villages, and during the fall, they would either move back to their old winter houses or make new ones. In the winter, people would keep a hole open in a frozen river for water. Many stories mention a water hole. For example, in "The One Who Kicked His Grandmother's Head Along" (Attla 1983), a boy kicks his grandmother's head into the water hole at each place he visits, but the head does not sink until he reaches the place at which his grandmother means for him to settle down.

Sometimes a village is described as having a community hall or *ka-shim*, called *kkuskuno* in *Denaakk'e*. This hall was used as a workshop and meeting place for the men, as well as a place for games, dances, ceremonies, and town meetings. In "The Eagle Man Who Carried People Far Away," the protagonist of the story fights with an eagle man in such a hall (Attla 1989).

In a few stories, an abandoned village is mentioned, commonly described as an empty place overgrown with grass. Villages were abandoned due to natural migration or because of some disaster. In "She's Dragging Her Bag," a traveling woman comes to an abandoned village and in one of the houses, in the dark, she meets the cannibal who has killed everyone in the village (Attla 1983). In a different story, a woman digs up a helpful skull in an abandoned village (Attla 1989).

The Summer House and Fish Camp

During the summer months, people continued to stay by the river to fish. They built shelters to protect themselves from the rain. The working

Time and Place in Kk'edonts'ednee

area of these shelters was open, and the sleeping area was enclosed by birchbark walls. A birch fungus, called punk, would be burned to keep the mosquitoes away. A separate structure was used as a smokehouse.

Although the stories were told during the winter months, many of the stories take place in the summer. The cannibalistic woman that K'etetaalkkaanee encountered was staying in her summer house, although the main part of her diet did not seem to consist of fish.

Sometimes various families gathered in one fish camp, but usually each family had its own fish camp. People often gathered in the spring for a celebration, and then everyone would go to his or her respective fish camp. According to Mautner, people would gather together again in June at their winter village (Nelson, Mautner, and Bane 1982:144ff.), after which many would go out to their summer camps. Interestingly, K'etetaalkkaanee comes to more communities in the summer than in the winter. In fact, in only one winter episode—the episode about the grouse and ptarmigan people—does he come to a village. In the summer months, he comes to a village of little people, a village of medicine men trying to cure a mink woman whom he had injured, and a village of people who have enslaved his older brother.

On the Move

Many stories, or parts of stories, do not take place in a house or settlement, but while K'etetaalkkaanee is on the move. Travel on river in canoes, of course, was common, as K'etetaalkkaanee's name suggests. In traditional times, river travel was also possible by using poled boats or rafts, although neither is mentioned much in *Kk'edonts'ednee*. (One notable mention of a raft occurs in "Great Raven Who Shaped the World" in Attla 1983, in which Raven saves animals from a great flood by arranging them on a raft). Frequent mention is also made of portages—paths or trails between rivers and lakes, or across the land created by a long bend in the river. Someone traveling by canoe would often portage across the land as a shortcut, saving himself or herself the trouble of paddling all the way around the bend. Regular trails and trail systems were common in traditional times, although trails are not often mentioned specifically in *Kk'edonts'ednee*.

During the winter months, people would travel on snowshoes. In the

Settings

late winter, they would often go on nomadic hunts, traveling from one place to another in search of food, usually caribou. These hunts often were very literal examples of "feast or famine." The protagonist of "The One Who Drank Water with Dog Droppings in It" travels with some people on such a hunt and saves them from starvation (Attla 1989). In another story from the same book, a woodpecker man tries to starve his wife on one of these hunts.

While major rivers are associated with travel and settlements, side streams are associated with good, cool water and beautiful countryside. K'etetaalkkaanee escapes the cannibal woman by asking her to get him some cool water from a side stream. In "The One Who Was Willed to Come for a Man's Daughters," a boy is drawn to some good land—and a family—along a concealed side stream.

Other Worlds

Sometimes characters travel, or are transported, to distant lands or worlds. Some of these worlds are described as beautiful, grassy places, as in "The One Who Secured His Axe to the Sky" and "The One Who Was Willed to Come for a Man's Daughters" (both in Attla 1989). In one story, the distant land is a land of giant people and animals ("The One Whose Uncle Put Him in the Water in a Log" in Attla 1983). At least one story partly takes place in an underwater world inhabited by fish people, who look and act like humans on earth ("Dog Salmon" in Lolnitz 1973). In general, these lands are described as being either beautiful, or as being more or less the same as the original home of the traveler. In this respect, they contrast with other worlds in Tagish stories. Cruikshank (1983:8) describes the typical Tagish other world as a "colourless, winter world where even animals are white."

DISTANCE

Location and Direction

One way Athabaskan languages differ significantly from English is in the presence of a complex system of adverbs of place in Athabaskan, words called locationals or directionals. Each locational is a single word, composed of three morphemes: (1) a stem indicating direction, (2) a prefix indicating distance, and (3) a suffix indicating movement. I will not give a detailed linguistic analysis of these words here; I give only enough examples to hint at the complexity of this system.

The most distinguishing characteristic of Athabaskan locationals is that they are largely based on rivers. Six of the nine locational stems refer to rivers: upstream, downstream, across the river (or lake), away from the river, toward the river, and toward the middle of the river (or lake). There are three other stems: up, down, and away. There are four prefixes: *do-* 'a short distance,' *no-* and *aa-* 'an intermediate distance,' and *yoo-* 'a long distance.' *No-* and *aa-* can be used more or less interchangeably. These four prefixes, combined with the stem-suffix combination *-dot* 'at a place downstream', yield

<i>dodot</i>	'at a short distance downstream'
<i>nodot</i>	'at an intermediate distance downstream'
<i>aadot</i>	'at a visible distance downstream'
<i>yoodot</i>	'at a long distance downstream'

These distances are relative, depending on how wide a scope the speaker and hearer have in mind. One other prefix is *t'ee-*, which means 'straight, directly.' *T'eedot* means 'straight downstream' or 'directly downstream.'

The suffix *-t* in the examples above means that whatever is being

Time and Place in Kk'edonts'ednee

referred to by the locational is at a specific place and is not moving. The other three suffixes are: *-ts'en'* 'heading away from (toward the point of view),' *-e* 'heading toward (away from the point of view),' and *-ugha* 'at a general area.' Below are examples of each suffix.

<i>yoodot</i>	'at a place far downstream'
<i>yoodots'en'</i>	'(coming) from far downstream'
<i>yoodo'u</i>	'far downstream and heading away (i.e., going farther)'
<i>yoodooghe</i>	'a general area far downstream'

Distance

In traditional times, the Koyukon people often moved around. The extensive trail systems, the yearly semi-nomadic hunts, and the moving of entire villages all suggest that the Koyukon people were no strangers to travel. In their stories, travel plays an important part and, in the case of *K'etetaalkkaanee*, takes on epic proportions. In this section, I will discuss some of the devices used in *K'etetaalkkaanee* and other *Kk'edonts'ednee* to indicate great distances.

Length of Travel

Statements such as "I don't know how long he traveled," or "He walked for a long time," indicate that a character has traveled a great distance. The repetition of an action indicates the same. In *K'etetaalkkaanee*, as well as in other *Kk'edonts'ednee*, the statement "*Gheho!*, *gheho!*" 'He walked and walked' is often used to indicate a long journey, as is "*Ghek-kaat*, *ghekkaat*" 'He paddled and paddled'. Added to the repetition is the manner in which these words are said. A good storyteller draws them out to emphasize the image of a long journey: *Ghe—ho!*, *ghe—ho!*.

Change in Environment or Season

If a character travels for an entire season or travels to a completely new environment, we know that the journey has been long. *K'etetaalkkaanee*, of course, travels all winter and all summer. In other stories, characters see a change in seasons on their journey. In *Kk'edonts'ednee*, when people travel to faraway lands, they often see a change in the environment, such as inland to coast, or forest to tundra. In "The One Who Secured His Axe to

Distance

the Sky," Ggaadooggaa journeys to the sky world, which is described as a beautiful, grassy tundra (Attla 1989). The traveling woman in "The Ones Who Killed the Cannibal" journeys from her home, inland, to the ocean (Attla 1983). In "The One Whose Uncle Put Him in the Water in a Log," the faraway land is similar to the traveling boy's native land, except that everything is much bigger (Attla 1983).

Number of Encounters

The distance someone travels in *Kk'edonts'ednee* can be judged, in part, by the number of encounters he or she has along the way. Often, the encounters are specifically associated with the length of the journey. Men who are acquiring medicine power in stories must, after they finish their predictive dreaming, make a journey and have a number of encounters. These encounters give them more power, and the relative length of the journey symbolizes the degree of power they have obtained. We know from the number of encounters that K'etetaalkkaanee had, and from the length of his journey, that he must have been very powerful. Female travelers also can have long journeys during which many encounters take place, but evidently they do not acquire power on these journeys. Some exceptions exist, however, to my assertion that the number of encounters indicates the length of the journey. Ggaadooggaa, in "The One Who Secured His Axe to the Sky," encounters people while he is staying with an old woman. He leaves home briefly, has an encounter, and then returns to the old woman.

Land Seen from Above

Sometimes a broad perspective seen from a high point emphasizes distance. This device is not used as often as the others listed above. An example of this is found in "The Northern Lights Man," in which two boys who are traveling walk a long time and then climb to a high point to see where they are. From this perspective, they see some smoke rising from a smoke hole, far in the distance.

The Passage of Time

In *Kk'edonts'ednee*, great distances sometimes imply the passage of time and vice-versa, so the devices mentioned above, which indicate

Time and Place in Kk'edonts'ednee

distance, are also sometimes used to indicate the passage of time—specifically the length of the journey, a change in the environment or season, and the number of encounters. K'etetaalkkaanee, however, travels a great distance and has a number of encounters in one winter and one summer; many encounters are packed into a relatively short period of time. The traveler in "The One Who Drank Water with Dog Droppings in It," however, also has many encounters, but he is away from home for many years (Attla 1989). In many stories, such as "The One Who Secured His Axe to the Sky," it is difficult to ascertain how long the traveler is away from home. Below is a list, and brief discussion, of the devices used commonly in *Kk'edonts'ednee* to indicate the passage of time.

Repetition

Repetition is also used to indicate the passage of time. For example, when Ggaadooggaa watches a woodpecker fly straight up in "The One Who Secured His Axe to the Sky," the story says "Yeenaatl-'aan', yeenaatl-'aan', yeenaatl-'aan'" 'He was looking and looking and looking at it.' In the same story, Ggaadooggaa is said to sleep all the time: "Litaanh, litaanh" 'He slept and slept.'

Tense

Kk'edonts'ednee are commonly translated in the past tense (e.g., "He walked and walked"), but Athabaskan languages do not actually have a past tense. Instead of being marked for present or past, verbs are marked to show whether the action has been completed or not—that is, the verbs are in the imperfective or perfective tense. Several other "tenses" are possible. This is not the proper forum to discuss the Athabaskan tense system in detail, but a brief discussion is in order. Three tenses are discussed below: progressive, customary, and inceptive.

Progressive

The progressive form in Athabaskan is similar to the English progressives "to be walking," "to be singing," and so on, but the Athabaskan progressive is used only with verbs that describe motion, such as walking, running, paddling, flying. Furthermore, the Athabaskan progressive indicates movement that is, more or less, in a single direction, so *ghehoł* is

Distance

perhaps best translated as 'he is walking along,' rather than just 'he is walking.' English has a present and a past tense for progressives. Athabaskan languages, on the other hand do not have a past tense, so *ghehoł* can mean either 'he is walking' or 'he was walking.' The use of the progressive highlights the passage of time, especially when it is used in conjunction with repetition: *Ghehoł, ghehoł* 'He was walking and walking.'

Customary

English uses the simple present to indicate customary action. For example, "I walk to school," indicates customary or habitual action, while "I am walking to school," indicates one particular action. This distinction is not present in the past tense; "I walked to school" could indicate either a single action, or customary actions. Virtually all *Denaakk'e* verbs have a customary form, which indicates habitual action. The use of customary verbs is another way to indicate the passage of time. In the story, "The One Who Secured His Axe to the Sky," is the sentence "*Kk'udaa gheel yoogh gguh nolyaayh*" 'He customarily brought (or brings) home rabbits.'

Customary verbs can also be used in repetition. In the same story are the lines "*Tleda elek kk'odehun' ts'aa'elik go zo ggestł deetengheyhtł, ggestł deetengheyhtł*" 'He would spend the night, and when he woke up, the cane would have fallen over.' (The customary verbs "spend time," "wake up," and "fall over" are in boldface, and "fall over" is repeated once).

Inceptive

Athabaskan languages also have a tense called the inceptive, which is translated "to start to..." or "to have started to..." This tense often indicates that the action beginning is to be repeated or carried out for a long period of time. When *K'etetaalkkaanee's* mother pleads with him to stay home, the inceptive verb *yedetaalne* 'she started telling him' is used to indicate that she pleaded with him for a long time. This has more force than just *yelnee* 'she told him'. In the episode of *K'etetaalkkaanee* entitled "How Unlikely to Be Hanging by the Neck From That," a similar use of the inceptive tense is found. A girl in puberty seclusion cries because she misses her family. The story says "*Taaltsaah. Atseh.*" 'She started crying. She cried.' The use of the inceptive in *Dinaakk'a*, followed by the imperfective ("She cried" or "She is crying") indicates that she cried for a long time.

Time and Place in Kk'edonts'ednee

Indefinite Time

I use the term *indefinite time* to refer to instances where the word *nedaats'e* 'how much' is used in conjunction with the verb prefixes *nee-* and *k'i-* to indicate that an indefinite period of time elapses. For example, in *K'etetaalkkaanee* and in other stories is the phrase ...*nedaats'e nee nok'ee-deyo* '...he walked for a long time' or, '...I don't know how long he walked.' In the "Fishhook" episode of *K'etetaalkkaanee* is the sentence "*Kk'udaa nedaats'e needok'eheghedodeno*" 'They argued for a long time' or 'I don't know how long they argued.' The word *ghulaa* 'I don't know' is sometimes used in this construction. For example, in "The One Who Secured His Axe to the Sky" (Attila 1989), is the sentence "*Nedaats'e ghulaa neek'eghaadeno*" 'He did it for a long time' or 'I don't know how long he did it' [chased a woodpecker].

Unceasing Action

Another device that indicates that an action is repeated over a long period of time is the use of *tlaa* 'wait' with the form of a verb that means 'cease.' This construction means something close to "Wait and see him (or her) stop...." It is often difficult to translate this construction into a smooth-sounding English sentence, so it is often translated as 'This was just the beginning.' 'He didn't stop for a long time,' or something similar. When the shovel man sings for a long time, the story says "*Tlaa hedodetoneyhdlee*" 'He never stopped [singing]' or 'Wait and see him stop [singing]' or 'He wasn't about to stop [singing].' In a story about a man who tries to rescue his wife from an eagle man is the sentence, "*Tlaa et'eght detaalt'aanee*" 'That was to be the first of many times he did that' (Attila 1989).

Other Ways of Marking Time

Denaakk'e has two common constructions that indicate the passage of time. One is the use of some noun of time (day, night, year...) with the verb *hugheelet* 'time has passed:' *Tiede hugheelet* 'The night passed,' *Saan hugheelet* 'The summer passed,' *Huydo hugheelet* 'The fall passed,' and so on. The other construction is the phrase *Yoogh dehoot'aa*, which simply means 'Some time passed.'

Chapter 6
Other Northern
Traveler Stories

BROAD THEMES OF TRAVELER STORIES

The traveler theme is widespread across the arctic and the subarctic. Specific motifs within the context of this theme are also widespread. The best contextual presentation of a subarctic traveler story has been done by Ridington (1978) for Beaver; Jacobs (1959) has provided an exemplary analysis for some Chinook stories having themes other than of a traveler.

Many of the northern traveler stories, especially Canadian Athabaskan ones, have as their major theme the taming or killing of dangerous animals and people. All of the stories, to some extent, deal with the permanent transformation of animal people into animals. This theme, however, is emphasized in Alaskan stories more than in Canadian ones. Revenge also is a common theme. In stories having this theme, the traveler sets out to avenge the death of his brothers or some other people. By definition, the theme of traveling is present in all of the northern traveler stories, but the reasons for the travel vary.

If we look at any one traditional genre, traces of all the themes can probably be found. For example, in the Koyukon *K'etetaalkkaanee*, the traveler does kill some dangerous animals, the transformation of animal people is a prevalent theme of the winter episodes, and *K'etetaalkkaanee* avenges the demise of his two brothers. However, it is a mistake to assume that *K'etetaalkkaanee* is the same story or has the same theme as other northern traveler stories. To the Koyukon people, *K'etetaalkkaanee* is a story about a medicine traveler.

Northern Traveler Story Motifs

The motifs listed below are often found in traveler stories. The same motifs occur in other literatures in different types of stories, but I present them here only as they occur in traveler stories. The most commonly found motifs, those in seven or more literatures, are listed below.

Broad Themes of Traveler Stories

Although the motifs listed below are the most common, only two literatures have all six: Kobuk Inupiaq and Kutchin.

The Feigned Death Motif occurs as part of a traveler story in at least fourteen literatures: Koyukon, Upper Kuskokwim, Tanana, Tanaina, Ahtna, Upper Tanana, Tanacross, Han, Kutchin, Southern Tutchone, Tagish, Kaska, Slavey, and Kobuk Inupiaq. The basic form of this motif is that the traveler pretends to be dead on a trap or on something else belonging to an ogre. The ogre takes the traveler back home as food for his family. The traveler kills the family with a knife, axe, or club belonging to the family. Rooth (1980) discusses this motif under the title "The Wolverine's Trap," including stories both within and outside of the theme of a traveler.

The Son-In-Law Tests Motif does not occur in any Koyukon version of *K'etetaalkkaanee*, but it is found in at least fifteen other literatures: Upper Tanana, Tanacross, Han, Kutchin, Southern Tutchone, Tagish, Ahtna, Kaska, Beaver, Slavey, Dogrib, Hare, Chilcotin, Kobuk Inupiaq, and Ingalik. In this motif, the traveler is given various tasks by his father-in-law, who is usually a bear man, and the tasks are intended to kill him. Lowie (1908) discusses this theme and others that involve tests. Most of the versions above involve making an arrow by getting the feathers from man-eating eagles, and getting the other arrow parts from equally dangerous places. Tsuchiyama's comparison of northern and Apachean Athabaskan motifs includes some motifs found in the Killer-of-Enemies cycle found in Navajo and Apache stories (1947). Both Apachean stories and Canadian ones associated with the Son-In-Law Tests Motif share the motifs of the giant eagle, the giant horned animal, and the ogre who throws people over a cliff. The Lake Drinker Motif, in which the father-in-law causes a bird to drink an entire lake in which the traveler has taken refuge is commonly associated with the Son-In-Law theme. The Lake Drinker Motif is found in Upper Tanana, Tanacross, Han, Kutchin, Southern Tutchone, Tagish, Kaska, Beaver, and Slavey literatures.

In the Spear Tip Motif, the traveler turns into a fish and steals the tip of a fisherman's spear, or, as in Koyukon, steals the fisherman's fishhook. It is found in Koyukon, Upper Kuskokwim, Tanana, Han, Kutchin, Kaska, Chilcotin, and Kobuk Inupiaq literatures.

In the Vagina Dentata Motif, the journeyer meets a woman with teeth in her vagina. It is found in Upper Kuskokwim, Upper Tanana, Tanacross,

Other Northern Traveler Stories

Han, Kutchin, Tagish, Kaska, Beaver, Chilcotin, and Kobuk Inupiaq. Related to this is the Sharp Tail Motif where the journeyer meets a woman with a sharp tail. In the latter motif, he commonly averts danger by putting a stone on his chest at night. The Sharp Tail Motif is found in Koyukon, Tanaina, Ahtna, and in the Kiviuq cycle.

In the Dummy Motif, the traveler makes a dummy of himself by stuffing something into his coat or vest. In some literatures, such as Koyukon, the traveler stuffs some fat into the garment. A pursuer is fooled by this trick and is killed in some way. The Dummy Motif occurs in the literature of the Koyukon, Ahtna, Upper Tanana, Tanacross, Kutchin, Kaska, and Kobuk Inupiaq.

The Canoe Maker Motif, of course, involves the wanderer's making the first canoe. In most versions, he tests various barks and decides that birch makes the best covering. The canoe is usually sewn together at night by some animals or spirits, and he usually grabs for the most beautiful of these helpers. In a few Alaska versions, he uses a spruce hen breast-bone as a model for the end piece of the canoe. This motif is found in Koyukon, Upper Kuskokwim, Tanana, Upper Tanana, Tanacross, Kutchin, Bear Lake, and Kobuk Inupiaq literatures.

MOTIF LIST

Aged Return	Lake Drinker
Aperature Creation	Mouth
Bear Wife	Reflection
Canoe Maker	Sharp Tail
Childbirth	Son-in-Law Tests
Dog Droppings	Spear Tip
Dummy	Switched Pants
Feigned Death	Tailed Man
Flood	Testicle Hook
Giant	Vagina Dentata
Giant Woman	

OTHER TRAVELER STORIES

Tanaina

McGary, in Tenenbaum 1984 (p. 84), identifies "The Story Of *K'uzhaghale*" as a "Navigator" story. Mary V. Trefon, the storyteller, says she remembers only part of the story, which she says took three nights to tell in its entirety.

The story is named after the traveler, *K'uzhaghale*, whose name means 'The One Who Carries His Nephew.' The word for nephew here translates more specifically as "a man's sister's child." No explanation is given for this name. Like *K'etetaalkkaanee*, *K'uzhaghale* walks in the winter and travels by canoe in the summer, encountering various people and adventures along the way. The published story has seven to ten episodes, depending on what one considers an episode.

In the first episode, *K'uzhaghale* makes some snowshoes and throws them outside to be laced by some women in a village that he has come to. The women lace the snowshoes sloppily, so he unlaces them and throws them outside again. This time the women lace them well. The episode is structurally similar to the episode in *K'etetaalkkaanee* in which *K'etetaalkkaanee* makes a canoe and sleeps while some women sew it together.

The only episode in "The Story of *K'uzhaghale*" that has a clear Koyukon counterpart is the one in which *K'uzhaghale* spends the night with someone who tries to kill him by sitting on him. *K'uzhaghale*, like *K'etetaalkkaanee*, hears something being sharpened and puts a rock on his chest.

Below is the sequence of episodes as they occur in "The Story of *Kuzhaghale*."

1. *K'uzhaghale* starts walking (no reason given).
2. He makes snowshoes and has them laced.
3. He meets a small person (great gray owl), makes himself small, and impresses the person by eating whole rabbit legs.

Other Northern Traveler Stories

4. He stays with a rabbit person who tries to kill him by sitting on him. (Vagina Dentata Motif).
5. He meets a giant, who carries him in his pocket.
6. He stays with mosquito people who are drinking blood. He convinces a woodpecker that they are drinking "spruce tree blood" and thus stops the woodpecker from becoming carnivorous.
7. He comes to a rope, decorated with feathers and other pretty things, that has been strung across a river. The rope has been set by some people who are trying to capture travelers.
8. He meets the giant again and is carried in the giant's pocket.
9. He helps the giant kill another giant.
10. He tires of the giant and kills him by shooting arrows into his back; the giant thinks the arrows are sparks from the fire.

Upper Kuskowkim

An Upper Kuskowkim version of *K'etetaalkkaanee* was published in the collection *Nikolai Hwch'ihwzoya' 'Nikolai Stories'* (Deaphon 1980). This book contains nine stories told by Miska Deaphon and transcribed and translated by Betty Petruska. The story in this book is called "Ch'ititazkane." This word is cognate to *K'etetaalkkaanee* and has the same meaning. The English translation identifies him as "the world traveler."

Five of the nine episodes in this story have fairly obvious counterparts in Catherine Attla's version of *K'etetaalkkaanee*. The story begins with a version of the Dog Droppings motif: Ch'ititazkane's two nephews give him the contaminated water on the advice of their father, Ch'ititazkane's brother.

The canoe episode is similar to Catherine Attla's, but in the Upper Kuskowkim version, two women come to sew the canoe after he calls out for help before going to bed for the night. He watches them work. Both are pretty, but one has messy hair and the other has neat hair. Each sews one side of the canoe. The neat one makes good stitches, while the messy one sews poor stitches that Ch'ititazkane has to pull out in the morning. The second night he calls out again, hoping that the neat one will return. She does. After she sews the other side of the canoe, Ch'ititazkane grabs for her, but she flies away in the form of a bird.

The Upper Kuskowkim version of the Feigned Death Motif is also very

Other Traveler Stories

close to the Koyukon version. In the Upper Kuskokwim version, the traveler sees a fence, bloodies himself, and plays dead. The fence owner comes and, thinking he has caught some game, carries Ch'ititazkane back to his family. Ch'ititazkane wills a club to appear under his head, and he jumps up and kills the family. One woman wolverine escapes and climbs a tree. Ch'ititazkane tries to get the wolverine woman down, but she urinates on him, so he leaves.

Below is the sequence of episodes in "Ch'ititazkane":

1. Ch'ititazkane drinks contaminated water and leaves home. (Dog Droppings Motif)
2. He is guided to two bear dens by a wolverine man who tells him to go to two places where he has defecated. (Similar to "The One with Snowshoes Bent Up on Both Ends" in *K'etetaalkkaanee*.)
3. He makes a canoe with help of two girls (Canoe Maker Motif)
4. He slips by a woman tanning a human hide. The woman pokes her eyes out with an awl, punishing herself for not seeing him in time. She becomes a mouse.
5. He plays dead on a fence and is carried back home to a family; he kills the entire family. (Feigned Death Motif)
6. He becomes a king salmon and steals the spear tip of someone who is fishing. He walks up to a fisherman, who accuses him of stealing it. (Spear Tip Motif)
7. He is pursued by a cannibal woman. (Vagina Dentata Motif)
8. He comes to people who do not know how to sleep. They think he is dead when he is sleeping and dance over him.
9. He shames a bear into eating berries away from the shore of a lake.

Han

The literature on Han stories includes what is translated by Schmitter (1910) as "Old Man." The Han associate a particular rock—one about thirty miles upriver from Eagle, in Canada—with the Old Man; another rock near it is associated with "Old Woman." The story Schmitter writes about Old Man includes the Spear Tip motif, the Bear Wife motif, and the Son-in-Law Tests motif.

Rooth (1971:265ff.) includes some interviews with people in Eagle in

Other Northern Traveler Stories

which they again associate two rocks above Eagle with the Old Man and the Old Woman. They refer to the Old Man as "the man going down the river," and repeat the episodes corresponding to the Bear Wife motif and the Son-in-Law Tests Motif. Also included is a story about Beaver with the Vagina Dentata Motif, and one in which a traveler kills all members but one of a wolverine family (the Feigned Death Motif).

People from the village of Eagle today call the protagonist of this story *Tsa' Wezhaa* 'Smart Beaver' and *Ch'etatchekih* 'He Who Canoeed.' Louise Paul recorded this story, and Ruth Ridley transcribed and translated it, but it has not been published. Below is a summary list of the episodes in this version.

1. The traveler starts paddling downriver and comes to an otter woman who has strung a rope across the river and tied human shoulder blades to it. When he paddles under the rope, the shoulder blades rattle, and she pulls him ashore. He asks her to fetch cool water for him, and he escapes in his canoe. She pursues him and he kills her. Mink and weasel come out of her. (Vagina Dentata Motif)
2. He comes to a bear who is fishing with a knife tied to a stick. *Tsa' Wezhaa* swims under the stick and pulls off the knife. (Spear Tip Motif)
3. He gets material for arrows and shoots the bear's daughter. He hides in a lake, and the bear makes a frog drink up the water. He escapes with the aid of a sniper. (Son-in-Law Tests Motif)
4. He spends the night with Raven, who warns him that if he kicks or moves in his sleep, no more people will be around. While Raven and *Tsa' Wezhaa* are sleeping, *Tsa' Wezhaa* moves in his sleep and kicks Raven off a cliff. *Tsa' Wezhaa* paddles downriver and hears people, but when he comes around the bend, no one is there. He puts Raven back together. (Similar to "The Ones Who Used to Say 'Adiyee *Hughlkinh*'" in Attla 1983.)
5. He gets caught in a wolverine's trap and is carried back to his camp, farting along the way. He kills the wolverine family, sparing only one girl, who urinates on him from a tree. He tells her not to eat humans. (Feigned Death Motif)

Other Traveler Stories

Ahtna

An untranslated Mentasta story told by Katie John corresponds to *K'etetaalkkaanee*; the protagonist is called *Yabaagha Tezyaanen* 'The One Who Walked Around the Edge of the Sky.' There is no documentation of this character's appearing by that name in any other part of Ahtna territory. However, there is a character called *Ciił Hwyya* 'Smart Young Man' with whom some travel and adventure stories are associated. Buck and Kari (1975) call him the "Inventor" and say that *Ciił Hwyya* is used as a nickname for lynx and fox.

In Billum's *Atna' Yanida'a: Ahtna Stories* (1979), *Ciił Hwyya* is usually translated as 'fox.' He is described as "a very smart man and an explorer" (p. 25). Included in the same book is a story of his fooling a wolverine family (pp. 3-8), of his dulling the tail of a rabbit, and of his fooling a wolf woman. The story about the rabbit with the short tail is a variation of the Vagina Dentata motif, and the story of the wolf includes an episode in which he makes a dummy of himself with wood and fat, and puts the dummy in the wolf woman's trap.

Rooth 1971 includes two stories from Copper Center about "Kiss'lja," who is undoubtedly *Ciił Hwyya*. One story is about his killing a wolverine family by pretending to be dead and allowing himself to be carried to the family (Feigned Death Motif), while the other is about his inventing snowshoes, having gotten the idea from the lacy look of a moose stomach.

Upper Tanana

McKenna (1959) identifies the traveler/transformer as "Tsa-o-sha" (Smart Beaver). He says that he is also known as "Yamontashe" (He Who Walks Around). The latter name was sometimes heard by Rooth (1971) as "Yamayschashe" or "Lamayschashe." The name meaning 'smart beaver' is probably correctly rendered *Tsa' Hooshyaa*. The other name is rendered in Milanowski and John (1979) as *Yaa Maagn Teeshaiy* 'The Man Who Traveled Around the World.' In Rooth, he is referred to, in English, as beaver, man-going-around-the-world, Noah, and Adam.

McKenna includes nineteen such episodes. Four different informants told McKenna the episodes, presumably at different times, so there exists no printed account of the Upper Tanana traveler story that presents the story from beginning to end, as a single unit. (A version of this story, told

Other Northern Traveler Stories

in Upper Tanana by Walter Northway, has been recorded, but it is as yet untranslated.) Below are the episodes as given in McKennan.

1. Tsa-o-sha gives copper to the people.
2. He kills a wolverine and the wolverine's family by pretending to be caught in the wolverine's trap and allowing himself to be carried back home. He is unable to kill one girl, but he makes her promise to stop eating people. (Feigned Death Motif)
3. He kills wolves.
4. He takes a fox as a partner.
5. He kills Tcetin (*Cheet'iin*), the tailed man. (Tailed Man Motif)
6. A bear asks him to marry his daughter, and Tsa-o-sha gets sinew, feathers, and pitch to make arrows. (Son-in-Law Tests motif, Bear Wife Motif)
7. He kills the bear's daughters but not the bear (Bear Wife motif, Lake Drinker Motif)
8. He kills a marten and his family (Testicle Hook Motif)
9. He shames a carnivorous nighthawk by making a dummy of himself from his coat, stuffing it with willow bark and fat. (Dummy Motif)
10. He kills a mink girl by thrusting a burning stick up her vagina (Vagina Dentata Motif)
11. He is fed fish by an otter.
12. He kills sheefish.
13. He visits the camp of the sun. (This is usually associated with Raven's stealing daylight.)
14. He creates a fly, who was originally only a round ball, by cutting holes for mouth and anus and making arms and legs. (Aperature Creation Motif)
15. He is befriended by a camp robber. He witnesses the killing of caribou and people by mosquito people.
16. He outwits wolverine by switching pants. (Switched Pants Motif)
17. He is tricked by his partner, his wife's younger brother, into drinking dirty water. (Dog Droppings Motif)
18. He teaches gnat children natural childbirth. (Childbirth Motif)
19. He returns home to find himself and his wife old and white-haired and his children full-grown. (Aged Return Motif)

Other Traveler Stories

McKenna (1959:175) relates the following description of Smart Beaver given to him by Chisana Joe:

Tsa-o-sha was a powerful man who lived long ago. He was not like other Indians because he had yellow hair. At that time all the animals were just like men. These animals killed and ate Indians. Tsa-o-sha traveled around the country killing these bad animals. He made them good like they are today. He never killed bear though [which is why bears kill and eat people today]. Tsa-o-sha taught the Indians many things. He gave them their bear spears, their snowshoes, their skin boats, and their canoes...Tsa-o-sha was very wise.

Tanacross

The documentation of Tanacross stories, in general is not as extensive as the documentation of other literatures. This is also true for stories about the traveler. Arthur Wright's *First Medicine Man* (1926-1927) may be a Tanacross version of this story. According to Rooth (1971), the Tanacross name for the traveler is "Youbow-tatelyon." The stories she includes of his travels are from the Dirty Water cycle. Brean (1975) includes in her collection of Tanacross stories, the episode of the traveler making the first canoe.

Lower Tanana

To those speaking the Lower Tanana language—spoken today in Minto and Nenana, Alaska—the traveler is known as Ch'eteetadhkanenh. Parts of this story are reported in Rooth 1971, but the story does not exist as a complete unit anywhere in the literature on Lower Tanana. In fact, most of the people Rooth interviewed seemed to be reluctant to tell the story in any detail. Several of them said that Ch'eteetadhkanenh ("Noah") himself said that his story should always be told in its entirety. That is, it should always be finished and all parts of it included.

Ellen Frank of Minto has briefly described what the story contains, without telling me the story itself. According to her, Ch'eteetadhkanenh's uncle warned him of all the bad things he would face on his journey, and told him what to do to overcome each obstacle—each of them, that is, except the lynx, who was later to kill Ch'eteetadhkanenh. After being killed, however, Ch'eteetadhkanenh was brought back to life by a powerful

Other Northern Traveler Stories

medicine person. Frank also said that Ch'eteetadhkanenh left home because he was tired of working hard for his uncle. On the advice of his grandmother, he gave his uncle drinking water made from melted snow that had dog droppings in it. His uncle became angry, and Ch'eteetadhkanenh left home. On his journey, he named the animals and decided which ones were edible. He also established the clan names and made the first canoe, sled, and house.

One element common to all of the versions of this story from Minto is the episode in which Ch'eteetadhkanenh pretends to be dead in a wolverine man's trap and is carried away by the wolverine. The place where this happened, *Neltseel Hutseel Totaalyets Denh*, is on the north bank of the Yukon River below Garnet Creek eighteen miles from Rampart. The name literally means 'The place where the water wrecked [a legendary] wolverine's fish trap fence.' The rocks that stretch into the river there are supposed to be the remnants of this destroyed fish trap. According to Effie Kokrine, Ch'eteetadhkanen corrected things that were wrong on his journey. She said the wolverine was a cannibal who used the trap to kill anyone who came by, so Ch'eteetadhkanen destroyed it. For Ellen Frank, the story ends at this point. Wolverine dragged Ch'eteetadhkanen up a hill, and today that path is still visible. The story explains why wolverines today can steal big things.

In the versions of this story told to Rooth, as in the one told to me, Ch'eteetadhkanenh's journey begins with some variation of the Dog Droppings Motif. In most of the versions, Ch'eteetadhkanenh receives the dirty water, while in Frank's, he presents someone else with the water. Ellen Frank's version is similar to the Koyukon version, in that Ch'eteetadhkanenh has foreknowledge of the things that happen to him on his journey. In this respect, the Minto version is intermediate between the Koyukon version, in which K'etetaalkkaanee travels to gain medicine power, and versions to the east, in which his role is predominantly that of a transformer and little information is given about his personal motives.

Below is a list of the motifs found in the available Minto versions of this story. No single version includes all of these motifs, and since the order of the motifs within the stories varies, the order below should not be considered significant, except that the Dirty Snow Motif comes first in all versions in which it is present. The motifs are taken from stories as told by five

Other Traveler Stories

different people (represented as I-V below), none of whom claimed to have told the entire story.

1. Ch'eteetadhkanenh is given water with dog droppings in it, and he leaves home. (I, III, V)
2. One of his wives turns back, while another follows him. (I, III)
3. His baby freezes while his wife is following him. (I, III)
4. He finds a special friend. (I)
5. His wife is killed by a creature (tailed man, according to III) that is almost impossible to kill. (I, III)
6. Ch'eteetadhkanenh kills (in a snowshoe game, according to II) the one who killed his wife. (I, II, III)
7. He kills bad animals. (I, III)
8. He is killed by a lynx and is brought back to life. (I, III)
9. A sniper-man tries to hook him under the ice. (I)
10. He meets a headless man. (I)
11. He makes a canoe with the help of women whom he calls from the water. (I, II, IV, V)
12. He comes to some gnat people and drowns them while helping them catch a "moose" (actually a mouse). (I)
13. He shoots an arrow into a mink woman and later pulls it out. (I, II)
14. He is trapped by a wolverine and dragged away. (I, II, III, IV, V)
15. He comes to a frog woman and a mouse woman, and rejects frog food and accepts mouse food. (I, II, III)
16. He steals spear tip. (II)
17. He is involved in the story of a flood, a raft, and the remaking of the world. (II, III, IV)
18. He makes a bow-drill and ignites birch fungus. (II)

Kutchin

The Kutchin version of *K'etetaalkkaanee* has been well documented. It is presented and discussed in Petitot 1888, Barbeau 1913, McKennan 1965, Williams 1976, and McGary 1984. The Traveler in Kutchin is known as either *Ch'iteehaakwail* or *Vasaagihdzak*. The first is cognate with *K'etetaalkkaanee* and corresponds to McKennan's *Jateaquoint*, Barbeau's *Chitacholi*, and Petitot's *Etroetchokren*. The second, which McKennan writes as

Other Northern Traveler Stories

Sagithuk, originally represented a different cycle of stories based on the Cree trickster, *Wesugichak*. The characters of Ch'iteehaakwaii and Vasaagihdzak have become mixed together for many people, a process of syncretization discussed in McGary (1984:165). Williams' Vasaagihdzak, in fact, comprises mostly episodes that McKennan claims are about Jateaquoint (Ch'iteehaakwaii).

Petitot was the first to write down stories about Ch'iteehaakwaii in his collection of Louchoux (i.e. Kutchin) stories from Fort Good Hope (1888:190-198). His collection, which also includes Hare and Dogrib stories, was reprinted in 1967, and has been translated into English by Habgood (1970) and an anonymous translator (Petitot 1976). Petitot translated Etroetchokren's name as *le navigateur* 'the navigator.' The 1967 edition translates his name as *le navigateur parmi les obstacles* 'the navigator amid obstacles.' The term *navigator* is still used to refer to the cycle of stories about a traveler, a cycle that is spread across the North American arctic and subarctic (e.g., see note by McGary in Tenenbaum 1984, p. 84).

Petitot's and Barbeau's versions are both from Canadian Kutchin (Louchoux), while McKennan's and Williams' versions are from Alaskan Kutchin. McKennan's version and Williams' version are both valuable, but for different reasons. McKennan has more episodes, but he heard these from many different informants, and the story is not treated as single unit, but rather as a cycle of individual "myths." Williams, on the other hand, told the story in Kutchin as a unit and it was translated and published as such. Below is a composite list of the episodes in both versions. As with the lists given previously, this list does not do justice to the original; it gives only a brief outline of the events in the story. Although McKennan calls the hero Jateaquoint and Williams calls him Vasaagihdzak, I will refer to him below as Ch'iteehaakwaii.

1. Ch'iteehaakwaii is living with his parents and brother. His father kills his mother, and her body kills him. They are pursued by her head. They put obstacles in her path, but she overcomes them. Finally they make a river and are helped across by a loon or a swan. Their mother's head is carried across and dumped in the water by the same bird.
2. Ch'iteehaakwaii is abducted by a man in a canoe, and his brother turns into a wolf.

Other Traveler Stories

3. Ch'iteehaakwaii marries one of the man's daughters and has to make arrows by getting wood from a tree that hurls splinters, getting feathers from a man-eating eagle family, getting boiling pitch, and getting sinew (McKenna) or bark (Williams). (Son-in-Law Tests Motif)
4. He sharpens a kingfisher's bill, and the kingfisher tells him that his brother was killed by giant fish who play with the skin of their victims. Killing the fish will cause a flood. He finds the fish and kills them; it rains and floods. He makes a raft, putting pairs of animals on it. On the raft, he dulls the beaver's tooth and cuts off the lynx's sharp tail. (Flood Motif)
5. He pretends to be impaled on copper spears and he is carried home by a wolverine, whom he eventually kills along with the wolverine's family.
6. A wolverine man tries to get him with a hook under the snow. Ch'iteehaakwaii kills him and feeds him to his own family.
7. Ch'iteehaakwaii makes the first canoe. First he tests different kinds of bark, then he makes the frame. In the night, bird women come and sew the birch bark on the frame. He has to rip out the stitches of one of the birds. (Canoe Maker Motif)
8. He meets a cannibal woman and kills her; mink and weasel emerge from her dress. (Vagina Dentata Motif)
9. He comes to a fat woman and a skinny woman. (Williams)
10. He turns into a fish and steals the spear tip from a fisherman who is a frog. The frog dismantles Ch'iteehaakwaii's canoe while he is sleeping and then reassembles it the next night. (Williams; Spear Tip Motif)
11. A bear tries to kill Ch'iteehaakwaii's reflection, and Ch'iteehaakwaii kills the bear. (Williams; Reflection Motif)
12. Ch'iteehaakwaii makes mouths for some people who don't have any. (Williams; Mouth Motif)
13. He comes to a giant, whom he helps to kill another giant. (McKenna; Giant Motif)
14. He seduces the giant's wife. (Giant Woman Motif)
15. He returns to his mother. (McKenna)
16. He gets his two wives back from a marten-man. (McKenna)
17. He drinks dirty water and sets out on a journey. (McKenna; Dog Droppings Motif)

Other Northern Traveler Stories

18. He makes a dummy of himself and puts it in a mosquito man's trap. The mosquito man eats flesh from his own leg when he sees that his catch is only a dummy. (McKenna; Dummy motif)
19. He trades pants with a wolverine man. (McKenna)

In McKenna, after the episode in which Ch'itehaakwaii drinks dirty water (17 above) and sets out on his journey, several episodes are included which follow the Koyukon "The One Who Drank Water with Dog Droppings in It" fairly closely. Williams includes several episodes, such as Vasaagihdzak's juggling his eyes, which are included in McKenna with the *Sagithuk* (Vasaagihdzak) cycle.

CANADIAN TRAVELER STORIES

Southern Yukon Territory

To the Tutchone, Tagish, and Inland Tlingit, the traveler corresponding to K'etetaalkkaanee is known as *Smart Man*, *Smart Beaver*, or *Beaver Man*. According to Cruikshank (1979), the Tagish call him *Cha' Kwa Za*, the Southern Tutchone call him *Ets'uya'*, and the inland Tlingit call him *Ge Di Ye Di*. McClellan (1975) says that the Southern Tutchone tell the story with more elaboration than any of the other Indian groups in the southern Yukon Territories, and that many Southern Tutchone consider Beaver Man more important than Raven or Crow.

The most detailed printed account of this story for the Southern Yukon Territory Indians was told by a Tagish woman and was included in Cruikshank 1979. According to this woman, Angela Sidney, the traveler was the youngest of five brothers and wore many shirts, one layered over another. People were leaving his village and not returning, so he set off downriver to do something about it. Cruikshank says, as a general comment on these stories, that the traveler had the ability to change from man to beaver at will, and he traveled downriver "cleaning out" dangerous animals and people by either killing them or rendering them harmless. Below is a summary of the episodes told by Angela Sidney.

1. Beaver meets some giants and kills them.
2. He comes to a mink-woman who is tanning a skin and is eager to be his mate. He sticks a rock into her and animals come out. He flees in his boat and she pursues him, causing a wave. He escapes. (Vagina Dentata Motif)
3. He comes to an otter man and teaches him to eat fish, not otter.
4. He plays dead in a wolverine's trap and is carried back to the wolverine's home, getting caught on a tree on the way. He kills the whole

Other Northern Traveler Stories

family, letting two wolverine fetuses live. He tries to get them down from a tree with a fire, but they urinate on it and he gives up, telling them not to eat people. They say that they will steal food and mess up caches. (Feigned Death motif)

5. He comes to a giant bear who offers his daughter to him if he will kill some animals. Beaver makes a bow and arrow by cutting down a dangerous tree, getting sinew from a bear with the help of a mouse, getting paint from a giant frog, and getting feathers from man-eating eagles. He then returns and kills the bears. (Son-in-Law Tests Motif)
6. He kills a man-eating sheep and tells its wife not to eat people any more.

Cruikshank also includes a short Southern Tutchone version of this story, which ends when he returns home to his mother after being gone about a year.

Kaska

The Kaska, who are found in both southern Yukon Territory and northern British Columbia, also have a story about Beaver. Teit (1917:429-441) includes a version of this story, which is quite long, but is presented as a single unit. On the other hand, his collection of stories (1919-1921) from the closely related Athabaskan group to the south, the Tahltan, does not include this story. He claims (1917:429) that he collected all of the Kaska and Tahltan stories that his informants knew, and included all of them in his articles except "historic traditions."

Teit (1917:429) says of Beaver, "A long time ago, when animals were people, Beaver was a great transformer. He traveled along a wide trail that was much used. Along the trail were many monsters that preyed on people." Below is a summary of the episodes found in Teit.

1. Beaver plays dead in a wolverine's trap and is brought home to the wolverine's family. One of the children sees him open his eyes and sounds the alarm. Beaver kills the family. (Feigned Death motif)
2. He comes to a sheep man and his wife who kill people by throwing them over a cliff. He kills them both.
3. He kills some more sheep people.

Canadian Traveler Stories

4. He comes upon an old woman and a young woman. The old one proposes marriage to him, intending to kill him. He kills them both.
5. A marten man tries to hook him under the snow. He kills the marten man and feeds him to the marten family. Then he kills all of them except one, telling it to eat only rabbits and mice, not people.
6. A giant tries to catch him but can't, and he makes a snare at Beaver's suggestion. Beaver puts a tree stump in the snare, and when the giant sees it, he eats his own genitals and dies. (Dummy Motif)
7. A giant tries to kill a reflection of Beaver in the water. Beaver kills him. (Reflection Motif)
8. A woodchuck offers Beaver human flesh and Beaver kills him.
9. A bush tail rat offers Beaver human flesh and Beaver kills him.
10. He sees a kingfisher man fishing with a spear, turns into a salmon, and takes the spear tip. The kingfisher makes him sleep, reads his thoughts, and then dismantles the canoe to retrieve the spear tip. (Spear Tip Motif)
11. Beaver slips under a rope that an otter man has strung across the river. The kingfisher had warned him about it.
12. He comes to an otter woman, with small animals in her privates, who wants to marry him. He leaves after sending her to fetch cold water from a stream. He kills a beaver, which she tans and makes into mittens while he is sleeping. He wakes up to see her and the mittens, and he kills her. (Vagina Dentata Motif)
13. He comes to a shrew woman who warns him of danger downstream. She gives him a few salmon eggs, which multiply and become more than enough for him to eat.
14. He turns into a bird and allows himself to be caught by two girls. They take him home and put him in bed, only to wake up to find that he has become a man. Their father discovers this and tries repeatedly to kill him. The father asks him to make some arrows by getting feathers from man-eating eagles, sinew from a monster (with the help of the shrew woman), glue from a monster fish, and paint from a monster snake, again with the help of the shrew woman. The girls become grizzlies and he kills them. The father-in-law pursues him, causing a bird to drink the water from a lake. Beaver brings the daughters back to life and marries them again. (Son-in-Law Tests Motif)

Other Northern Traveler Stories

15. His father-in-law had given his daughters feathers with which they could test Beaver's faithfulness. When Beaver sleeps with his old wife, the new wives find out and kill everybody except Beaver and his brothers.
16. Beaver looks for his wives and comes upon his father-in-law, who burns his own pants, thinking that they are Beaver's. Beaver gives him a spare pair and gets his wives back.
17. Two ravens peck out the eyes of starving people, and Beaver kills them by pretending to be dead, then grabbing them as they peck at his eyes. (Eye Pecking Motif)

Other British Columbia Athabaskan

Not enough work has been published on Sekani and Carrier mythology for me to state which stories these Athabaskans had about a traveling hero or trickster. Jenness mentioned that such a cycle existed for the Sekani, but he did not elaborate on it. Farrad includes a cycle in his collection of Chilcotin stories about a traveling hero called "Little Dog." This cycle includes stories about a man-eating eagle and other dangerous animals, which he overcomes. Little Dog also teaches natural childbirth to some people and, at one point, changes into a salmon and steals the tip of a fisherman's spear. A version of the Vagina Dentata motif is also included.

Beaver

Goddard (1916:232-237) includes a cycle about a Beaver culture hero called *Tumaxale*. Ridington (1978) calls the hero *Saya* 'sun-moon in sky' and says *Saya* corresponds to Goddard's *Tumaxale*. She also says that *Saya* is known as *Usakindji* and *Yamadeya*, the latter being cognate with the Slave *Yama Deya* and the Dogrib *Yama Gheya*. Ridington includes only the first part of the story of *Saya* in her work. In this version, a boy named *Swan* survives being abandoned by his father and is transformed into *Saya*. In Goddard's version, the story begins with two brothers—one of whom is *Tumaxale*—walking in opposite directions. Ridington writes that the story is connected to a modern prophet dance and to dreaming and medicine power.

Following is a list of the episodes found in Goddard's version.

Canadian Traveler Stories

1. He and his brother separate.
2. He kills a giant beaver.
3. He snares the sun and enlists the aid of a mouse to unsnare it.
4. He exchanges moccasins with a dangerous person, who burns his own moccasins. (Switched Pants Motif)
5. He gets feathers from man-eating eagles.
6. He comes to a man with three daughters who have had animals inside them (Vagina Dentata Motif). The man intends to kill him, so he sends him on dangerous missions to make arrows. On one of the missions the traveler transforms himself into a mouse and gnaws the hair away on a giant buffalo in order to kill it. The three daughters transform themselves into bears and he kills them. A pelican drinks a lake dry. (Son-in-Law Tests Motif)
7. He meets an old man who turns out to be his brother.

MacKenzie Delta Athabaskan

Petitot (1888) transcribed the name of the Hare traveler as *Ekka-Dekhine* (the Navigator), which appears to be cognate with *K'etetaal-kkaanee*, and as *Kunyan* (The Wise One). His transcription and translation of the Dogrib traveler is *Dune Ya-Mon Riya* (The Man Who Walked Around the Sky). Both of these traditions contain episodes about getting feathers for arrows from man-eating eagles. In the Dogrib story, the traveler kills a giant caribou with the help of a mouse. In the Hare story he makes a raft to escape a flood. The Slave traveler is known as *Yambaa Deya* (Monus et al.; Sabourin 1975). Williamson (1955) wrote his name as *Yampa Deja* and translated it as 'always moving,' but it means something more like 'he walked around the edge of the sky.' Below are the episodes included in the Slave version published by Williamson.

1. Yambaa Deya kills some giant beavers.
2. There is a story about first place to which he comes.
3. A wolverine turns into rock.
4. Yambaa Deya, caught in a wolverine's trap, feigns death. He grabs a willow on the way back, and the wolverine falls into the water. The wolverine's children see Yambaa Deya's eyes and tell wolverine who shrugs it off. Yambaa Deya kills the family. (Feigned Death Motif)

Other Northern Traveler Stories

5. A creature who is half man, half dog tries to throw Yambaa Deya over a cliff, but is thrown over itself. Yambaa Deya finds the creature's wife, who is nursing it after its fall. He kills them both.
6. He is warned by an old woman about a family, an old couple and their daughter, that lives ahead. The parents offer the daughter to Yambaa Deya. Her real husband comes home and pretends to be her brother. Yambaa Deya is sent out duck hunting and is secretly pursued by the husband. He kills the husband and then is asked by his father-in-law to make some arrows. He gets the shafts from living rocks, the feathers from man-eating eagles. He gets the sinew from a monster, with the aid of a mouse. The daughter turns into a grizzly bear and he kills her. He flees into a lake, and the people try to get him, first by dragging the lake with nets, then by having two pelicans drink all the water in the lake. (Son-in-Law Tests Motif)
7. He encounters some tiny chickadee people who are amazed at how much he can eat. He kills two owls at their request, and one of the chickadees eats its eyes while it roasts over the fire.

The final episode is similar to the episode in *K'etetaalkkaanee* in which K'etetaalkkaanee kills some tiny people by bursting an owl's eyes over a fire.

Parts of a Bear Lake Athabaskan traveler story have been published by Osgood (1931:89-91). This version has some parts in common with the Kutchin version—parts that versions from other areas do not have—such as the Rolling Head Motif, and the inclusion of Cree trickster-like stories of the "eye juggler" and the "dancing ducks." Below are the episodes that Osgood says belong to the "first brother" cycle.

1. First brother's father decapitates first brother's mother. First brother and his younger brother escape. The younger brother is taken by a man in a canoe and promises to return as a wolf.
2. First brother kills giants.
3. He kills his wife and feeds her to his child. Later he eats the child.
4. A monster beaver is killed by the last giant.
5. First brother kills a bear and loses the power to communicate with animals.

Canadian Traveler Stories

6. He makes the first arrow, getting feathers from an eagle's nest.
7. He makes the first canoe by trying to cross the river in a birchbark basket.
8. He kills some blindfolded, dancing geese.
9. He loses his eyes while juggling them and makes new ones out of spruce gum.
10. He kills all except one of a group of wolverines.

ESKIMO TRAVELER STORIES

Ingalik

The Ingalik, or Deg Hit'an, Athabaskans have been heavily influenced by the Yupik Eskimos on both the Kuskokwim and Yukon rivers. The modern Ingalik people whom I have asked have not known of any Ingalik tradition corresponding to *K'etetaalkkaanee*. John Chapman (Chapman and Kari 1981), however, did record a story that is similar to the Inupiaq version of *K'etetaalkkaanee* told on the Seward Peninsula and the Kobuk River. He gave only an English title for the story, "The Avenger." It is far closer to the Inupiaq story than to the Koyukon. I am not aware, however, of any Yupik version of this story. It may share a few elements with Yupik stories, such as someone's entering a house through the eye of a needle.

In "The Avenger," the hero is born magically to a couple who had lost all of their previous children. After he is born, his father puts amulets—hot rocks, a small ermine skin, and a feather—into his mouth, and he swallows them. He later uses these amulets on his journey. He grows up and discovers why his family lives alone. He then leaves to avenge their deaths. He travels with a mink and overcomes difficulties. At one point, he must overcome a diabolical father-in-law. In the end, he returns to his parents, only to find them transformed into two grass tussocks. He turns into a hawk and is caught in a bird snare. He is killed, skinned, and burned, after which he rises from the ashes. He flies to his parents again, and then flies away.

Siberia

Bogoras (1902) makes a comprehensive comparison of the folklore of Northeastern Asia and that of Northwestern America. He compares Eskimo and Indian stories from arctic and subarctic North America with stories

Eskimo Traveler Stories

from the Northeastern Asian arctic, primarily discussing stories from the Chukchi tradition, but also including stories from the Yukaghir, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal traditions. There are a number of similarities, including many found in North American traveler stories. Common to both sides are the Vagina Dentata, Dummy, Person Lacking an Anus, Giant Bird, and Opening and Closing Rocks motifs (pp. 667-668, 615-616, 663, and 607-608).

One Chukchi story is similar to what I have called the Feigned Death motif, and its beginning is similar to the beginnings of many of the North American traveler stories, including the Koyukon *K'etetaalkkaanee*. The basic story line is this: an old woman has six sons, five of whom leave home and never return. The sixth boy leaves and finds a trap with knives sticking up from it. He pretends to be dead and is carried home by a man-eating creature. The creature tickles him to make sure he is dead, lashes him on its sled, and drags him home. He farts on the way. In one version, the creature carries him on its back, and he grabs onto a branch, making the creature fall. He is brought back to the creature's family. While the family sleeps, he moves, and some excrement sounds the alarm. He then kills the creature and its entire family with a knife (pp. 608-610).

Kobuk River Inupiaq

The Kobuk River people have a story very similar to *K'etetaalkkaanee* about a man called *Qayaqtuağagniqtuuq* (henceforth *Qayaq*) "He Who Always Travels by Canoe," or, according to Rasmussen (1932:180), "He Who Shall Always Long to Go Roaming in His Kayak." In addition to Rasmussen's excellent version of this story (which he collected from Old Nasuk of Kotzebue), Emily Brown (also known as Ticasuk) published an English version of this story which she says she heard around Unalakleet (Brown 1981). Larry Kaplan has also transcribed and translated another version, told by Daniel Foster, but this version has not been published. Both Rasmussen's and Kaplan's versions were originally told in Inupiaq by Inupiaq storytellers, then transcribed and translated from that language. Brown was a native speaker of Inupiaq and wrote the story from memory.

In Brown's and Rasmussen's versions, the traveler turns into a hawk at the end of the story. In fact, Rasmussen titles his version "Wander Hawk."

Other Northern Traveler Stories

In all three versions, Qayaq leaves home to seek out murderers. In Rasmussen and Brown, he leaves to avenge the disappearance of his brothers. Rasmussen says, "Everywhere he went he avenged his brothers. He avenged them by uprooting all that was evil and ugly, all that threatened men with malice and ignorance" (1932:232). Below is the sequence of episodes as given in Rasmussen (1932:177-235).

1. Qayaq's father, The Woodman, comes out to the coast from the forests. He and his wife have four sons who all leave and never return.
2. Qayaq is born magically.
3. His father tries to kill him but cannot. Qayaq sees evidence of his brothers.
4. His father tells him about his brothers, and Qayaq leaves.
5. He passes by people who are unaware of his passing.
6. He meets a woodpecker man, whom he considers unfriendly. He throws the man out of his wind shelter, and the man turns into a woodpecker.
7. He finds a wolverine's tooth on a beaver lodge. He meets the wolverine man, who claims to have broken his valuable jade axe.
8. He comes upon a white lynx man who is afraid of Qayaq's big toe.
9. He is pursued by a man. He makes a dummy by putting twigs in a vest. The man "catches" the vest and starts to cook it. Qayaq calls him a fool and tells him to slit his throat and jump into the fire, which the man does. (Dummy motif)
10. He comes upon another fool, who hangs himself in his sledge harness.
11. He weds a night-owl girl, but leaves because he is out to avenge his brothers.
12. He comes to a giant who is so big that his night is equal to an entire winter. The giant asks Qayaq to cut his two wives' hamstrings. Qayaq stays three days (i.e., years) and leaves during the fourth winter.
13. He makes a kayak with the help of the forest animals. He grabs a vixen, who stays with him until the river breaks up and he leaves.
14. He meets his uncle and they travel together.
15. He comes to a man cutting splinters from a tree into the river. The splinters turn into salmon.
16. He gets stuck to a sticky ball and pretends to be dead. A man throws

Eskimo Traveler Stories

him over his back and takes him home. Qayaq grabs trees on the way. A child sees his eyes open and sounds the alarm, which his father dismisses. Qayaq wills them to put an axe under his head and then jumps up and kills the entire family. (Feigned Death Motif)

17. Qayaq and his uncles get through a cliff that is opening and closing magically. (Opening and Closing Rocks Motif)
18. Qayaq turns into a fish and grabs the spear tip from a man who is spearfishing. Qayaq spears the bewildered man. (Spear Tip Motif)
19. He turns into a trout and is eaten by a chief's son, who dies because of a bone caught in his throat. Qayaq springs from the corpse and escapes.
20. His uncle turns into a lynx and leaves without an explanation. Qayaq mourns his departure by leaving his canoe and belongings behind and flying away as a hawk.
21. Qayaq gets caught in a bird snare and is eaten by a chief. The bones turn back into Qayaq, who marries the chief's daughter.
22. His father-in-law tries to kill him in various ways, but he always escapes and eventually kills his father-in-law. (Son-in-Law Tests Motif)
23. He returns home and finds that his parents have died. He grieves and turns into a hawk, flying off into the woods from which his father had first come.

Kiviug and Other Eskimo Stories

The Central and Greenlandic Eskimos all tell some version of the story *Kiviug*. Rooth refers to this as a "weaker form" of the "Kayak-man" cycle in Alaska (1976:100-101). Versions of this story have been recorded by Rasmussen for the Netsilik (1931), the Caribou (1939), and the Iglulik (1929) peoples. His notes on the East Greenlandic Eskimos included this story as well (Ostermann 1939). The same story was collected from the Polar Eskimo by Holtved (1951) and from the Central, Baffin Island, and Cumberland Sound Eskimo by Boas (1888 and 1901). A more recent bilingual Central Eskimo version of *Kiviug* was published by Spalding in 1979. Most of the stories about *Kiviug* begin with his escaping a flood caused by a boy who was mistreated.

The most striking similarity between *K'etetaalkkaanee* and *Kiviug* is found in a motif about a fox wife. *K'etetaalkkaanee* tries to grab a fox

Other Northern Traveler Stories

woman, and she flees to her den, which is inhabited by other small animals and birds. One at a time, these animals come out, and K'etetaalkkaanee either insults them or grabs for them. In the Netsilik version of *Kiviuq* collected by Rasmussen, Kiviuq does almost the same thing, trying to see his fox wife. He stands outside the animals' house and rejects each one that comes out, saying what is wrong with each one (e.g., the rabbit's eyes are too far apart, the lemming's nose bleeds too easily, and so on). Spalding includes the same episode in his collection of Central Eskimo stories.

Except for this similarity, the *Kiviuq* stories, in fact, have little in common with the Alaskan and Canadian traveler stories discussed above, including the Alaskan Inupiaq story of Qayaq. A few common motifs may be found, but the basic forms and themes are quite different. The Sharp Tail Motif is found in the Baffin Island, Caribou, Polar, and Western Greenlandic versions of the story. In the Baffin Island and Western Greenlandic versions, the protagonist averts this danger by putting a stone on his chest, as K'etetaalkkaanee does. The Caribou version tells of hilltops that open and close, and the West Greenlandic version tells of icebergs that do so (Opening and Closing Rocks Motif). In the Baffin Island and Netsilik version, the traveler is warned of danger by a head. Finally, the Polar Eskimo version includes an episode, as do many Canadian Athabaskan traveler stories discussed above, about someone who kills people by pushing them over a bluff.

A different, but commonly told, Eskimo story that is related to *K'etetaalkkaanee* is about the origin of fog. Rooth discusses this story in relation to the wolverine trap (i.e., Feigned Death) Motif (1980:5-38). Boas' version of this story (1901:176-178), from Cumberland Sound, goes roughly as follows:

1. A hunter is killed by an ogre. Another man volunteers to pretend he is dead and lies under some stones. He is carried back home on the ogre's back. One of the ogre's children sees the volunteer's eyes blink. (Feigned Death Motif)
2. In the pursuit that follows, the ogre drinks a river and his stomach bursts, giving birth to mist and fog. (Lake Drinker Motif)

Eskimo Traveler Stories

An Eskimo version of the Son-in-Law Tests Motif is found not only in the Kobuk story of Qayaq, but also on Nunivak Island (Lantis 1946:280). In this story, a man's five sons leave and never return. The sixth son leaves and, with the help of amulets, he kills his father-in-law and the man's daughter after his father-in-law unsuccessfully attempts to kill him. Unlike his brothers, he returns home.

All the Eskimo stories mentioned above bear some similarities to each other and to *K'etetaalkkaanee* and other Athabaskan versions of the traveler story, but the things they share with each other and those that they share with the Athabaskan stories are not the same. The story of Qayaq in Alaska is not directly related to that of Kiviuq in Western Canada and Greenland—that is, neither story is directly diffused from the other, and neither is a remnant of a common story from the past.

NATIVE ACCOUNTS

As is true of most published accounts of native folklore and beliefs, very few of the traveler stories have been written and/or published by the native people themselves. Catherine Attla's *K'etetaalkkaanee* and Henry William's *Vasaagihdzak* are notable exceptions to this, having been told in the storytellers' native languages and then having been transcribed and translated. Two versions, one by an Eskimo and one by an Athabaskan, have also been published: Arthur Wright's *The First Medicine Man* and Emily Ivanof Brown's *The Longest Story Ever Told*. Both of these were published in English only. Depending on one's perspective, they both have the advantage (or disadvantage) of rejecting the scientific rigor demanded by anthropologists and linguists. The stories are aimed at an English-speaking audience, and neither documents the exact source, or sources, of that particular version of the story. For this reason, I discuss them here rather than under a particular language heading.

Arthur Wright

Arthur Wright, a deacon of the Episcopal Church, wrote a story called *The First Medicine Man: The Tale of Yobaghu-Talyonunh*. He published the story in *The Alaskan Churchman* in four installments (1926-27). The story was published in book form in 1977. Included in the book was a biographical afterword by Joan E. Weis.

Arthur Wright's mother was an Athabaskan from Tanana. His father, a gold miner from outside of Alaska, left the territory with his gold after leaving Arthur at the age of two with the Reverend Jules Provost. Arthur Wright traveled with Provost and helped him translate a hymnal and a prayer book into Upper Koyukon, the language spoken by many of the people at Tanana. He later traveled with Archdeacon Hudson Stuck and worked with Bishop Peter Trimble Rowe. In 1922, Arthur was ordained

Native Accounts

deacon in Nenana and married a missionary nurse he had met there. Arthur and his wife lived and worked in Nenana, Minto, and Tanana Crossing (Tanacross) until he resigned from mission work in 1935.

According to Weis (Wright 1977:56), Arthur translated *Yobaghu-Talyonunh* while he and his wife were at Tanana Crossing. It is not clear, however, whether the story he translated was a Tanacross story or was from one of the areas he serviced in his church duties. He had earlier published a story from the Copper River about men with tails (1923), and his rendition of the name *Yobaghu-Talyonunh* appears to represent how the name would be said in Koyukon, *Yobaaghe Taalyonenh*. His version of the story, however, seems to have more episodes in common with the other Tanana River versions of the story than it does with the Koyukon. Arthur Wright himself did not publish any information about which language he had translated the story from. He only wrote, "While the tale is not the same among all the tribes, it is told of the same hero among all the Indians of Alaska" (1977:7). He said that much of the story "is strange and cannot be explained, but what has been possible to piece together is given here." Possibly his version of the story is a composite of many versions, but one could argue that in oral tradition most all versions are composites.

He wrote the following about this hero: "Yobaghu-Talyonunh was the first medicine man, and a good one. All that he did was in the interest and welfare of man" (1977:7). Below, is a summary of the episodes that are included in Arthur Wright's version.

1. He is given dirty water by his older wife and he leaves home. He props up a wolf head and a bear head on the trail and scares the older wife, who goes back home. The younger wife then follows and their baby freezes to death. (Dirty Water Motif)
2. He kills some wolves and puts their tails on his hat.
3. He becomes the partner of a fox who saves him from an evil tailed man. The tailed man later kills Yobaghu-Talyonunh's wife, and Yobaghu-Talyonunh kills the tailed man.
4. He meets a fish-hawk man who feeds him some fish. Yobaghu-Talyonunh puts some of the fish aside for later use. The fish-hawk is unable to catch any fish because of it and tells Yobaghu-Talyonunh to eat any fish he put aside.

Other Northern Traveler Stories

5. He spends the night with a wolverine and wakes to find the wolverine and his camp, which had been his tail, gone.
6. He learns about medicine power by thinking about the animals' power and discovers he can use it to get food. After that, animals begin to fear man.
7. He plays dead in a wolverine's trap and is carried to the wolverine's camp. He uses his new-found medicine power to will that his hands become untied, and he reaches for a nearby knife. A child sees some light in Yobaghu-Talyonunh's supposedly dead eyes and sounds the alarm, which is ignored. Yobaghu-Talyonunh kills the entire family, except for one girl, whom he tells to steal from men's cache's and be despised. (Feigned Death Motif)
8. He makes peace between a camprobber and a woodpecker who were arguing.
9. He fools an owl by making a dummy with his clothes, some grass, and a piece of fat. The owl tries to eat it and Yobaghu-Talyonunh kills the owl in disgust.
10. He meets a silly and absentminded screech owl.
11. He makes a mouth for a previously mouthless fly-man, and is fed by ant people.
12. He makes the first canoe by using a spruce hen breastbone as the model for the endpiece and by testing different kinds of bark, finally deciding on birch. He calls for help to sew the canoe, and four "water spirits" in the form of women come at night to sew it. He grabs for one, but she escapes and the spirits become alienated from man, never showing themselves again, only talking with medicine men. He puts pitch on the canoe and leaves. (First Canoe Motif)
13. Meets an otter woman and is pursued by her. He kills her and minks, weasels, martens, and ermines come out of her body. (Vagina Dentata Motif)
14. He is captured by a silver-tip bear and makes arrows by getting sinew from a serpent, pitch from an area of boiling pitch, and arrows from carnivorous eagles. He kills the bear's daughters and the bear pursues him. Yobaghu-Talyonunh hides in a lake and the bear has a frog drink the entire lake. He finally escapes.
15. He returns home, an old man, and is reunited with his old wife.

Native Accounts

Arthur Wright's story contains an episode found in no other version of this story that I know of, that of Yobaghu-Talyonunh's discovering medicine power. The Koyukon versions of this story are about K'etetaalkkaanee's gaining medicine power, but K'etetaalkkaanee's entire journey, as well as his dreaming beforehand, are toward this end. In Arthur Wright's version, Yobaghu-Talyonunh gains his power fairly quickly and his is the first medicine power among humans.

Another interesting aspect of Arthur Wright's story, related to the medicine power, is the alienation of animals from humans. After Yobaghu-Talyonunh gains his power, the animals "began to fear man more and more" (p. 26). In Catherine Attla's version, animal people are transformed into animals and, in a sense, could be said to be alienated from man, but not in the same way that Arthur Wright describes when he talks about Yobaghu-Talyonunh thinking "...about the limitations of the animal people's minds and about how man, if he willed to, could completely dominate them with his stronger mind" (p. 26). Without knowing the original versions Arthur Wright heard, I view this difference as reflecting his identity as both a traditional Athabaskan and an Episcopalean deacon and missionary. On the one hand, it is a traditional story told with obvious sympathy and empathy in a way that is true in detail to other versions of the story; on the other hand it shows a western belief that man has dominion over animals "if he willed to."

THE DISTRIBUTION OF MOTIFS

Some folklorists are interested in reconstructing the historical archetypes of stories. Such folklorists look at all of the versions of the story in various traditions and reconstruct the archetype or archetypes from the most widespread and common motifs. I do not think that this approach is possible for northern traveler stories. First, there is too much variation. In a tale type such as "The Star Husband," where all variants are relatively close, one can break down the tale into components and alternates of these components, but this is not possible for traveler stories. One could use this methodology on motifs such as the Son-In-Law Tests Motif, but not with the entire body of traveler stories.

Another problem in trying to relate northern traveler stories to one another is that certain motifs may be absent in the traveler story of one tradition, but present in a different story. For example, the Feigned Death Motif is widespread in northern traveler stories, but is absent in the Kiviuq cycle of the Canadian Eskimos. It is, however, present in the origin of fog story in these traditions. (See Rooth 1980:5-38 for a discussion of this motif, which she calls "The Wolverine's Trap.") In Upper Kuskokwim, Kutchin, Tanana, Tanacross, and Upper Tanana traditions, the traveler leaves home after drinking water with dog droppings in it. This motif is absent in the Koyukon *K'etetaalkkaanee*, but is the basis of the Koyukon ("The One Who Drank Water with Dog Droppings in It" in Attla 1989).

If two or more traditions share similar stories, it is not necessarily true that both stories evolved from a single story. The story may have diffused and then been incorporated into a different story. Innovations on a particular story can diffuse across a story that has already been diffused. Such diffusions are to be expected for episodic stories such as *K'etetaalkkaanee*.

Following is a list of some of the motifs associated with the various northern North American traveler stories:

Distribution of Motifs

Motifs with a Widespread Distribution

Dummy Motif (Malimiut, Koyukon, Kutchin, Ahtna, Tanacross, Upper Tanana, Kaska)

Feigned Death Motif (Malimiut, Koyukon, Upper Kuskokwim, Tanaina, Kutchin, Tanana, Tanacross, Upper Tanana, Han, Southern Tutchone, Kaska, Slave) Found in Canadian Eskimo origin of fog story.

Son-In-Law Tests Motif (Malimiut, Ingalik, Kutchin, Ahtna, Tanacross, Upper Tanana, Han, Kutchin, Southern Tutchone, Tagish, Hare, Dogrib, Slave, Beaver, Chilcotin)

Lake-Drinker Motif (Kutchin, Ahtna, Tanacross, Upper Tanana, Han, Kutchin, Hare, Dogrib, Slave, Beaver, Kaska)

Traveler marries a bear (Kutchin, Ahtna, Han, Tanacross, Upper Tanana, Southern Tutchone, Tagish, Hare, Dogrib, Slave, Kaska)

Spear Tip Motif (Malimiut, Koyukon, Upper Kuskokwim, Tanana, Kutchin, Han, Kaska, Chilcotin)

Vagina Dentata Motif (Malimiut, Upper Kuskokwim, Kutchin, Han, Tanacross, Upper Tanana, Tagish, Kaska, Beaver, Chilcotin)

Sharp Tail Motif (Koyukon, Kutchin, Tanaina, Ahtna, Kiviuq Cycle)

Localized Distribution

Traveler drinks water with dog droppings in it (Upper Kuskokwim, Tanana, Tanacross, Upper Tanana, Kutchin). Present in Koyukon as a different story

Traveler kills a tailed man who has killed his wife (Kutchin, Tanana, Tanacross, Upper Tanana)

Traveler makes the first canoe (Malimiut, Koyukon, Upper Kuskokwim, Tanana, Tanacross, Upper Tanana, Bear Lake)

Traveler makes mouth and/or anus for someone who has none (Malimiut, Koyukon, Tanacross, Upper Tanana, Kutchin)

Traveler is befriended by a giant man and helps the giant kill another giant, or the giant's wife (Malimiut, Tanaina, Kutchin). This motif is the basis for a different Koyukon story. "One Whose Uncle Put Him in the Water in a Log."

Traveler comes to cliffs that open and close (Malimiut, Koyukon, Canadian Kutchin, Kiviuq cycle)

Deluge Motif (Tanana, Kutchin, Hare, Bear Lake, Kiviuq cycle). The Deluge is a very common motif outside of the traveler cycle.

Other Northern Traveler Stories

Traveler makes the first snowshoes (Tanaina, Ahtna, Tanacross). In some Koyukon versions, K'etetaalkkaanee makes snowshoes before he leaves home, but no mention is made of his inventing them.

A man dives into the water pursuing his own reflection, thinking it is the traveler (Koyukon, Kutchin, Kaska)

Traveler switches pants with someone who plans to burn the traveler's pants (Kutchin, Upper Tanana, Southern Tutchone, Kaska, Beaver)

Someone tries to hook the travelers testicles under the snow (Tanana, Kutchin, Upper Tanana, Kaska)

Motifs Localized to Two Traditions

Traveler finds a wolverine's tooth (Malimiut and Koyukon)

Traveler is led to food by a man who has had diarrhea (Koyukon and Upper Kuskokwim)

Traveler shoots a mink woman in the leg with an invisible arrow (Koyukon and Tanana)

Traveler drowns some little people (Koyukon and Tanana)

Motifs with a Sparse Distribution

Traveler cooks owl's eyes for little people (Koyukon and Slave)

Traveler turns into a bird and is caught in a pole trap (Malimiut, Ingalik, Kaska)

Traveler wants to marry a fox woman, waits outside her house and is approached by other small animals, which he finds fault with (Koyukon, Netsilik, Cumberland Sound)

Traveler is warned about a dangerous woman by a skull (Koyukon, Netsilik, Cumberland Sound)

A small amount of food given to the traveler increases in size (Koyukon and Kaska)

Traveler grabs Raven or Raven's beak while Raven is getting ready to peck him (Koyukon, Kaska, Siberia)

Traveler teaches people how to give natural childbirth (Malimiut, Southern Tutchone, Upper Tanana, Chilcotin). This is a common motif in cycles other than traveler cycles.

The Distribution of Names for the Traveler

Traditions that call the traveler something that translates as "The One

Distribution of Motifs

Who Traveled by Canoe" or a similar name are all found in a geographically contiguous area, as is seen on the map on page 176. Traditions naming the traveler "Smart (Wise) Man" or "Smart (Wise) Beaver" are also in a geographically contiguous area (see map). Not contiguous, however, are the traditions in which the traveler's name, or one of the traveler's names, translates as "The One Who Walked Around the Edge of the Sky." These traditions are grouped in two localities: the Slave Lake area (Dogrib, Slavey, and Beaver) and the Upper Tanana River (Tanacross, Upper Tanana, and Mentasta Ahtna) (see map). Big Sophie Sam's Koyukon version of *K'etetaalkkaanee* includes a reference to *K'etetaalkkaanee* as "the one who walked around the edge of the sky," although she uses it as a description and not as a proper name.

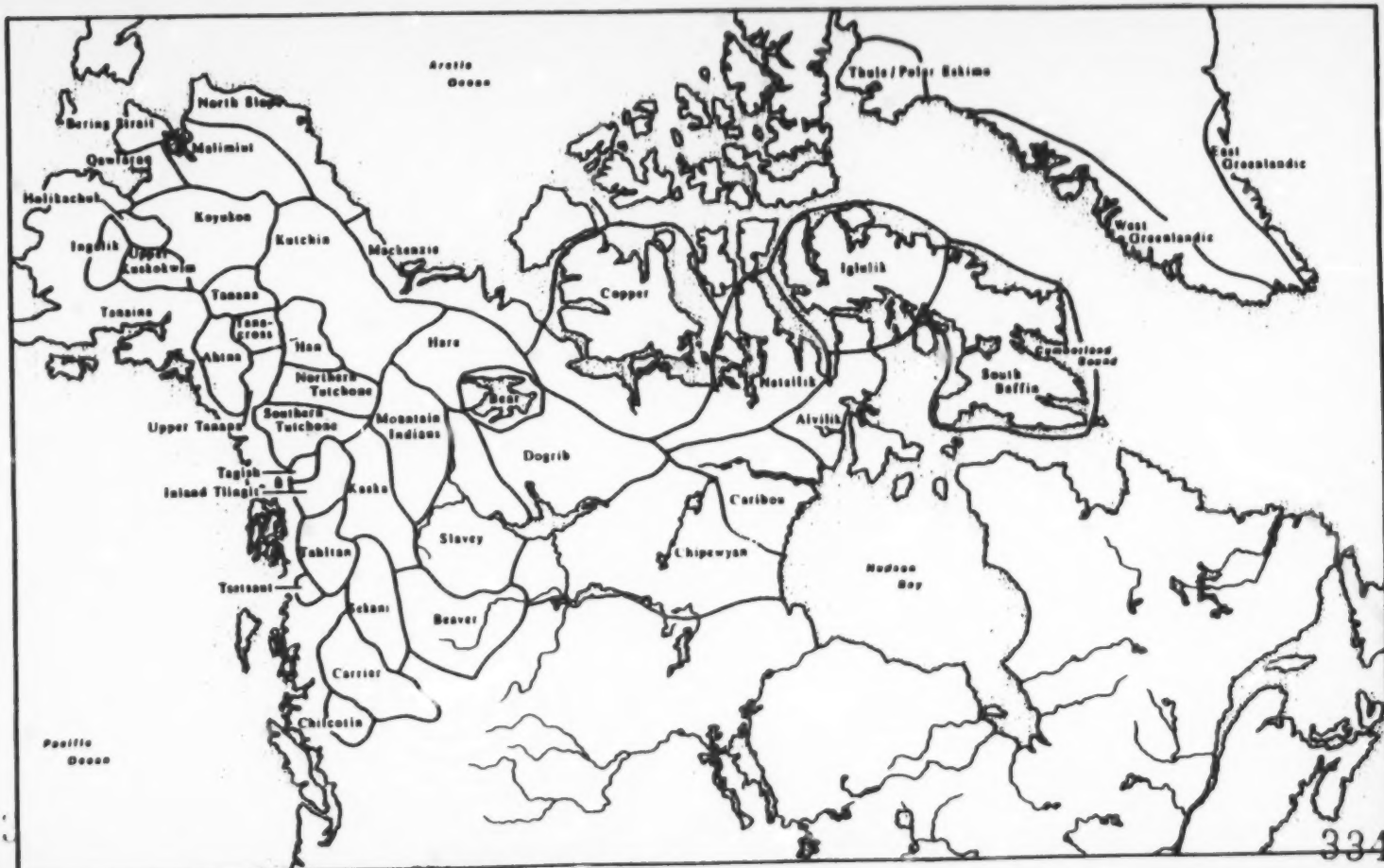
Some traditions have two or more names for the traveler. In Han, he is known as both "The One Traveled by Canoe" and "Smart Beaver." The Hare traveler is called both "The One Who Traveled by Canoe" and "Wise Man." In Upper Tanana, he is called both "The One Who Walked Around the Edge of the Sky" and "Smart Man." In most of Ahtna he is called "Wise Boy," but in Mentasta he is called "The One Who Walked Around the Edge of the Sky."

All of the Canadian Eskimo traditions, except Mackenzie Eskimo, have the Kiviuk cycle. The Alaskan Malimiut and Qawiaraq, on the other hand, call the traveler something that translates roughly as "The One Who Always Travels Around in a Kayak." Some Athabaskan traditions have unique names. Chilcotin calls the traveler "Little Dog" and Beaver has several different names for him.

A Final Note on Motifs

The distribution of the various motifs associated with the traveler theme is geographically contiguous in some cases, and disconnected in others. Some motifs are widespread, while others are present in only one or two traditions. If anything, traveler stories in the north represent a diffused theme or frame with which a variety of motifs can be associated. Motifs that some traditions include in a traveler story may be lacking in the traveler story of another tradition, but are present in some other story belonging to that tradition.

The collection, comparison, and classification of motifs have been the



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Distribution of Motifs

primary purposes of many folklorists. A danger exists in such an approach, however: One may assume that one's analysis is a valuable end in itself. Dundes says emphatically, "A folktale may be tale typed, morphologically dissected, or mapped without regard to the fact that it is told by one human being to another. In contrast, I submit that the folk should be put back into folklore. I am interested in folklore because it represents a people's image of themselves" (1980:vii).

The Koyukon *K'etetaalkkaanee* is not the same story as any of the similar stories in other traditions. It can be seen in proper perspective only if it is viewed as part of the Koyukon genre of *Kk'edonts'ednee*. An honest view of the story may relate it to similar stories in northern North America or to similar themes in world literature, but the perspective of an honest view must be that of the people to whose tradition it belongs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andrews, Elizabeth Andrews. 1980. Final Report on the Inventory of Recorded Oral Literature in the Tanana Chiefs Region, Central Alaska. Fairbanks: Tanana Chiefs Conference.
- Attla, Catherine. 1983. Sitsiy Yugh Noholnik Ts'in': As My Grandfather Told It. Fairbanks: Yukon-Koyukuk School District and Alaska Native Language Center.
- Attla, Catherine. 1989. Bakk'atugh Tshuniy: Stories We Live By. Fairbanks: Yukon-Koyukuk School District and Alaska Native Language Center.
- Attla, Catherine. 1990. K'etetaalkkaanee. Fairbanks: Yukon-Koyukuk School District and Alaska Native Language Center.
- Bascom, William. 1955. Verbal art. *Journal of American Folklore* 68:245-52.
- Ben-Amos, Don. 1969. Analytical categories and ethnic genres. *Genre* 2: 275-301.
- Bettleheim, Bruno. 1976. *The Uses of Enchantment*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Billum, John. 1979. Atna' Yanida'a: Ahtna Stories. Anchorage: National Bilingual Materials Development Center.
- Boas, Franz. 1888. The Central Eskimo. *Anthropological Papers of the Bureau of American Ethnology* 6.
- Boas, Franz. 1897. Northern elements in the mythology of the Navajo. *American Anthropologist* (old series) 10:371-76.
- Boas, Franz. 1901. The Eskimo of Baffin Island and Hudson Bay. *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 15.
- Boas, Franz. 1914. Mythology and Fables of the North American Indians. *Journal of American Folklore* 27:374-410.
- Bogoras, Waldemar. 1902. The folklore of Northeastern Asia, as compared with that of Northwestern America. *American Anthropologist* 4:577-683.

Bibliography

- Brean, Alice. 1975. *Athabaskan Stories*. Anchorage: Alaska Methodist University Press.
- Brown, Emily I. (Ticasuk). 1981. *The Longest Story Ever Told: Qayaq: The Magical Man*. Anchorage: Alaska Pacific University Press.
- Campbell, Joseph. 1949. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. New York: Pantheon Books, Inc.
- Camsell, Charles and C. -Marius Barbeau. 1915. Loucheux Myths. *Journal of American Folklore* 28:249-83.
- Chapman, John and James Kari. 1981. *Athabaskan Stories from Anvik*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center.
- Chowning, M. Ann. 1952. *Raven Myths in Northwestern North American and Northeastern Asia*. M.A. Thesis. University of Pennsylvania.
- Clark, A. McFayden. 1974. Koyukuk River Culture. Ottawa: National Museum of Man. Mercury Series. Ethnology Service Paper 27.
- Clark, A. McFayden. 1981. Koyukon. *Handbook of North American Indians* 6: Subarctic. Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 582-601.
- Clark, A. McFayden and Donald W. Clark. 1974. Koyukon Athabaskan houses as seen through oral tradition and through archaeology. *Arctic Anthropology* 11 (supplement): 29-38.
- Cruikshank, Julie. 1978. *When the World Began*. Whitehorse: Department of Education. Government of Yukon Territory.
- Cruikshank, Julie. 1979. *Athapaskan Women: Lives and Legends*. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 57. Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series. National Museums of Canada.
- Cruikshank, Julie. 1983. *The Stolen Women: Female Journeys in Tagish and Tutchone*. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 87. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada. National Museum of Man Mercury Series.
- Dauenhauer, Richard. 1976. *Riddle and Poetry Handbook*. Anchorage: Alaska Native Education Board.
- Dauenhauer, Richard and Jules Jetté. 1977. Koyukon Riddle Poems. *Alcheringa* 3 (1):85-90.
- Deaphon, Miska. 1980. *Nikolai Hwch'ihwzoya'*. Anchorage: National Bilingual Materials Development Center.
- Dundes, Alan. 1965. *The Study of Folklore*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc.
- Dundes, Alan. 1980. *Interpreting Folklore*. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press.

Bibliography

- Farrand, Livingston. 1908. Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians. The Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History 2.
- Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1916. The Beaver Indians. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 10 (4).
- Goffman, Erving. 1969. Strategic Interaction. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Habgood, Thelma. 1970. Indian legends of North-Western Canada by Emile Petitot. Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology 2(1): 94-129.
- Henry, Chief. 1973. Koyukon River Stories. Anchorage: Adult Literacy Laboratory. Anchorage Community College, University of Alaska.
- Henry, Chief. 1976. K'ooltsaah Ts'in': Koyukon Riddles. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center.
- Holtved, Erik. 1951. The Polar Eskimos: Language and Folklore. Meddelelser om Grønland 152.
- Jacobs, Melville. 1959. The Content and Style of an Oral Literature: Clackamas Chinook Myths and Tales. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology 26.
- Jetté, Jules. n.d. [Dictionary of Koyukon, which he called Ten'a. Done circa 1900].
- Jetté, Jules. 1908. On Ten'a Folklore I. Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 38: 298-367.
- Jetté, Jules. 1909. On Ten'a Folklore II. Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 39: 460-505.
- Jetté, Jules. 1913. Riddles of the Ten'a Indians. Anthropos 8: 181-201, 630-51.
- Jones, Eliza and Sally Pilot. 1975. Donooghnotok'idaat'no/Gaadook Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center.
- Jones, Eliza and Madeline Solomon. 1975. K'adonts'idnee. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center.
- Jones, Eliza and Madeline Solomon. 1976. Dotson' Sa Taa'eebaay Laat'ghaan: How the Raven Killed the Whale. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center.
- Jung, Carl G. 1956. On the psychology of the trickster figure. In Paul Radin, The Trickster. New York: Philosophical Library. 193-211.
- Kerényi, Karl. 1956. The trickster in relation to Greek mythology. In Paul Radin, The Trickster. New York: Philosophical Library. 172-91.

Bibliography

- Kluckhohn, Clyde. 1959. Recurrent themes in myths and mythmaking. *Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 88: 268-79. [reprinted in Dundes 1965, pp. 158-168]
- Krauss, Michael E., editor. 1982. In Honor of Eyak: The Art of Anna Nelson Harry. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center.
- Kroeber, A. L. 1899. Tales of the Smith Sound Eskimos. *Journal of American Folklore* 12: 166-182.
- Lantis, Margaret. 1946. The Social Culture of the Nunivak Eskimo. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, new series*, 35 (part 3).
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. 1955. The structural study of myth. *Journal of American Folklore* 68: 428-44.
- Lolnitz, Doria. 1973. *K'adoants'idnee*. Anchorage: Koyukon Enrichment Program, Alaska State Operated Schools.
- Lord, Albert B. Yugoslav epic folk poetry. *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 3: 57-61. (revised and reprinted in Dundes 1965.
- Lord, Albert B. 1956. Avdo Mededovic, Guslar. *Journal of American Folklore* 69: 320-30.
- Lowie, Robert H. 1908. The test-theme in North American mythology. *Journal of American Folklore* 21: 47-148.
- McClellan, Catherine. 1970. The Girl Who Married the Bear. National Museums of Canada. *Publications in Ethnology* 2.
- McClellan, Catherine. 1975. My Old People Say: An Ethnographic Survey of Southern Yukon Territory. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada. *Publications in Ethnology* 6 (1-2).
- McCurry, Niki and Eliza Jones. 1985. *Sitsiy Yugh Noholnik Ts'in', As My Grandfather Told It: A Teacher's Guide*. Fairbanks: Yukon-Koyukuk School District and Alaska Native Language Center.
- McGary, Mary Jane. 1984. *Gwich'in Gwandak: Edition and Translation of Alaskan Athabaskan Narratives*. M.A. Thesis. University of Alaska, Fairbanks.
- McKenna, Robert A. 1959. The Upper Tanana Indians. Yale University *Publications in Anthropology* 57.
- McKenna, Robert A. 1965. The Chandalar Kutchin. Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper 17.
- Monus, Vic, Anita Monus, Leroy Frye and Shirley Frye. *Yo To'h Gondii: Slave Stories*. Calgary: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Bibliography

- Nelson, Richard K. 1983. *Make Prayers To the Raven: A Koyukon View of the Northern Forest*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Nelson, Richard K., Kathleen H. Mautner and G. Ray Bane. 1982. *Tracks In the Wildland: A Portrayal of Koyukon and Nunamiut Subsistence*. Fairbanks: Cooperative Park Services Unit. Anthropology and Historic Preservation.
- Old Channel*. 1984. McGrath, Alaska: Iditarod Area School District.
- Osgood, Cornelius. 1931. The Ethnography of the Great Bear Lake Indians. Annual Report of the National Museum of Canada. Bulletin No. 70: 31-99.
- Osgood, Cornelius. 1971. The Han Indians. Yale University Publications in Anthropology 74.
- Ostermann, H. 1939. Knud Rasmusson's Posthumous Notes on East Greenland Legends and Myths. *Meddelelser om Grønland* 109 (3).
- Parry, Adam. 1971. *The Making of Homeric Verse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Preminger, Alex. 1974. *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Petitot, Emile. 1888. *Traditions Indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest*. Alencon: E. Renaut-de Broise. [reprinted as Petitot 1967, English translations by Petitot 1976 and Habgood 1970]
- Petitot, Emile. 1967. *Traditions Indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest*. Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve and Larose. [French version only]
- Petitot, Emile. 1976. *The Book Of the Dene*. Yellowknife: Programme Development Division, Department Of Education.
- Propp, Vladimir. 1968. *Morphology of the Folktale*. Austin and London: University of Texas Press.
- Propp, Vladimir. 1972. Transformations in fairy tales. In: Pierre Maranda (ed.), *Mythology*. Penguin Modern Sociology Readers. Baltimore: Penguin Books. [Abridged and translated from V. Propp, *Les Transformations des Contes Fantastiques* in T. Todorov (ed.), *Théorie de la Littérature* 1965]
- Radin, Paul. 1956. *The Trickster*. New York: Philosophical Library.
- Raglan, Lord. 1936. *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama*. London: Methuen and Company. [reprinted 1956 New York: Vintage Books]

Bibliography

- Rasmussen, Knud. 1929. Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24 7(1). Copenhagen.
- Rasmussen, Knud. 1931. The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Culture. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24 8(1 and 2). Copenhagen.
- Rasmussen, Knud. 1937. Intellectual Culture of the Copper Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24 9. Copenhagen.
- Rasmussen, Knud. 1932. *The Eagle's Gift: Alaska Eskimo Tales*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company.
- Ridington, Robin. 1978. *Swan People: A Study of the Dunne-za Prophet Dance*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, Ethnology Service Paper 38.
- Rink, Henrik. 1875. *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. (republished in 1974 by McGill-Queens University Press, Montreal)
- Rock, Bertha. 1985. *Tthedinonh Sughiliq: The Poor Orphan*. McGrath, Alaska: Iditarod Area School District.
- Rooth, Anna Birgitta. 1971. The Alaska Expedition 1966. *Acta Universitatis Lundensis, Sectio I Theologica Juidica Humaniora* 14. Lund, Sweden: CWK Gleerup.
- Rooth, Anna Birgitta. 1976. The Importance of Storytelling. Uppsala, Sweden: *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Ethnologica Upsaliensia* 1.
- Rooth, Anna Birgitta. 1980. The Alaska Seminar. Uppsala, Sweden: *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Ethnologica Upsaliensia* 6.
- Sabourin, Margaret. 1975. *Yambaa Deya. Yellowknife: Programme Development Division, Department of Education*.
- Scollon, Ron and Suzanne B. K. Scollon. 1981. Narrative, Literacy and Face In Interethnic Communication. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation. *Advances In Discourse Processes* 7.
- Sharbach, Alexander. 1962. Aspects of existentialism in Clackamas Chinook myths. *Journal of American Folklore* 75: 15-22.
- Smitter, Ferdinand. 1910. Upper Yukon Native Customs and Folk-Lore. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*: 36(1).
- Spalding, Alex. 1979. *Eight Inuit Myths/Inuit Unipkaaqtuat Pingasuniarvinilit*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada. National Museum of Man Mercury Series. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper 58.

Bibliography

- Teit, James A. 1917. Kaska Tales. *Journal of American Folklore* 30: 427-73.
- Teit, James A. 1919-1921. Tahltan Tales. *Journal of American Folklore* 32: 198-250, 34: 223-253, 335-356.
- Tennant, Edward and Joseph Bitar, eds. 1981. *Yupik Lore/Yuut Qanemciit: Oral Traditions of an Eskimo People/Yupiit Cayaraita Qanrutku-mallrit*. Bethel, Alaska: Lower Kuskokwim School District.
- Tenenbaum, Joan. 1984. *Dena'ina Sukdu'a: Tanaina Stories*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center.
- Thompson, Chad. 1984. *Athabaskan Languages and the Schools*. Juneau: Alaska Department of Education. Bilingual/Bicultural Education Programs.
- Thompson, Stith. 1929. *Tales of the North American Indians*. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press.
- Thompson, Stith. 1946. *The Folktale*. New York: Dryden Press.
- Thompson, Stith. 1953. The Star Husband Tale. *Studia Septentrionalia* 4: 93-163. [Reprinted in Dundes 1965, 414-74.]
- Toelken, Barre. 1969. The "pretty language" of Yellowman: Genre, Mode, Texture in Navajo Coyote Narratives. *Genre* 2: 211-35.
- Tsuchiyama, Tamie. 1947. A comparison of the folklore of the Northern, Southern, and Pacific Athabaskans. Ph.D. dissertation. University of California, Berkeley.
- Waterman, T. T. 1914. The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians. *Journal of American Folklore* 27: 1-54.
- Williams, Robert G. 1955. Slave Indian legends. *Anthropologica* 1: 119-143.
- Woodbury, Anthony C. 1984. *Cev'armiut Qanemciit Qulirait-Illu: Eskimo Narratives and Tales from Chevak, Alaska*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center.
- Wright, Arthur. 1926-1927. First Medicine Man: The Tale of Yobaghu- Talyonunh. *Alaskan Churchman* 20(2): 37-9, 20(3): 64-70, 20(4): 96-100, 21(2): 33-4.
- Wright, Arthur. 1977. *First Medicine Man: The Tale of Yobaghu-Talyonunh*. Anchorage: O.W. Frost.